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SCHOOL

HISTORY OF ROME

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SCHOOL

HISTORY OF ROME

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY

TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE EMPIRE OF THE WEST

ABRIDGED FROM

DEAN MERIVALE'S GENERAL HISTORY OF ROME

WITH THE SANCTION OF THE AUTHOR

BY

C. PULLER, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

WITH THIRTEEN MAPS

LONDON

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PREFACE.

THE purpose of the present volume differs in some respects from that of the General History of Rome, of which it is substantially an abridgment. The larger work was designed for the reading public in general; and the author accordingly felt himself at liberty to treat briefly, or to omit altogether, some points on which students making their first acquaintance with Roman History, as a part of their school work, must have information. Hence the limits usually assigned to the task of abridgment have not, in this instance, been observed with absolute strictness. In the earlier chapters I have introduced some incidents belonging to the legendary annals of Rome, which it was not deemed necessary to notice in the General History; and a few subjects of special importance have been treated rather at greater than at less length; amongst these I may mention the constitution and magistracies of the Republic, the system of Roman law, and the system of colonisation. For one chapter, the forty-second, which gives an account of the Roman legions and their method of encampment, I am wholly responsible. My aim, throughout, has been, not so much to compress into a small space a vast amount of detail, as to select those

incidents which have an intrinsic importance, or are likely to be attractive to the young, and thus to furnish a narrative, which, although it must necessarily be brief, may, I hope, be lifelike.

The present volume is illustrated with thirteen maps and plans, which are for the most part based on those contained in the Public Schools Atlas of Ancient History.

CHARLES PULLER.

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SCHOOL

HISTORY OF ROME.

CHAPTER I.

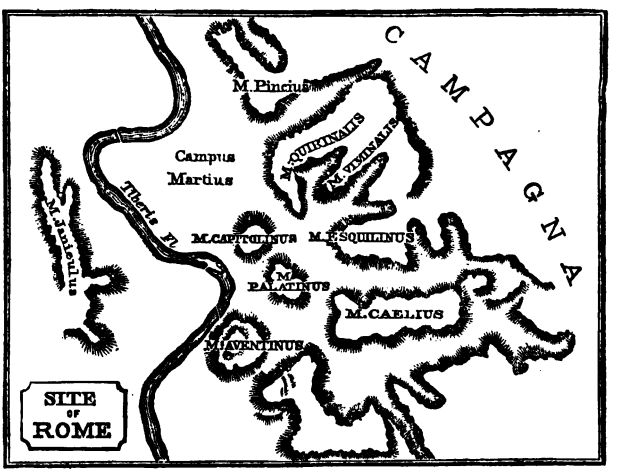
THE SITE OF ROME AND THE GRADUAL EXTENSION OF HER DOMINION.

We speak familiarly of the history of Greece, the history of Rome, the histories of Egypt and Assyria in old times, of England and France in later times. There is, however, a distinction in the case of Rome which ought not to be lost sight of. Rome is the name, not of a country nor of a nation, but of a single city. In tracing its history we shall see how the inhabitants of one small settlement, at first a mere village, gradually extended their dominion over realms and nations, till their home became the centre of a world-wide empire. A few other cities in the course of the world's history have enjoyed a somewhat similar glory. Carthage is an instance in ancient, Venice another in more modern, times. But none of these can be said to approach Rome in the greatness and splendour of its success.

It will be well to begin with a description of the place itself, the name of which has become more illustrious than that of any other spot on the earth's surface.

Midway between the extremities of the Italian peninsula, and fifteen miles from the western coast, which is washed by the Mediterranean Sea, lies the site of ancient Rome. It occupies a cluster of low hills, among which the stream of the

Tiber has formed for itself a winding channel. These hills, which came to be distinguished as the 'seven hills of Rome,' do not rise more than 150 feet above the level of the river. Far the larger part of the ancient city lay on the left or eastern bank of the Tiber; but on the right bank rises a long ridge, which, not long after the foundation of the city, was fortified, and became an important outwork; and in later times the walls of Rome were carried up to the summit of this ridge, and enclosed a portion of the right bank of the river within



the limits of the city. The names of the seven hills on the left bank were these: the Palatine, the Tarpeian or Capitoline, the Aventine, the Cœlian, the Esquiline, the Quirinal, and the Viminal. We are not to suppose that the seven hills were known by these names at the time that Rome was founded. Some of them, indeed, may have been so designated even then, but others undoubtedly acquired their names at a later period. The long ridge on the right bank of the Tiber was called the Janiculum, and its northern extremity, on which the church of St. Peter now stands, was known even in classical times as the Mons Vaticanus.

The hills of Rome on the left bank of the river form a large

segment of a circle, rising for the most part imperceptibly from the plain beyond, but falling more suddenly into the interior hollow; while at either extremity, to the north and south, they descend abruptly into the bed of the river. These points are known as the river faces of the Capitoline and Aventine hills. Within the hollow thus formed rises one isolated eminence, with a level summit and precipitous sides, of a figure irregularly lozenge-shaped, each side measuring a little more or less than a quarter of a mile. This hill, which formed the germ of the city and Empire of Rome, and which is familiarly known as the Palatine, standing about 400 yards from the river bank, was so screened by the advancing horns of the semicircle of hills around it, and in early days by the dense jungle which choked the valleys on all sides, as to be hardly distinguishable by the eyes of a stranger from beyond the limits of the enclosure.

The Tiber, rushing past these eminences with its volume of rapid waters, could with difficulty be stemmed by oar or sail, and thus added materially to the strength of the position.

Such a site, so screened from observation and so little accessible, was likely to attract the warlike tribes of Central Italy as a place for permanent settlement.

Though traces may be discovered in the later manners of the Italians of their original descent from a race of nomads, yet we find them from the first dawn of history already settled in fixed abodes. The idea of the city as a centre of local government was no less familiar to them than to the Greeks. Their strongholds were for the most part perched upon hill-tops, and the cultivators of the little territory around them dwelt generally within the shelter of their walls. The earliest legends of Rome indicate the occupation of the Palatine by a colony of Arcadians, one of the most primitive races of Greece; and Virgil describes the visit of the pious Æneas to the Arcadian king Evander, who was reigning there at the close of the Trojan War. At the time when our history opens, the Palatine seems to have been unoccupied by any city or fortress. The shepherd pastured his flocks there, and the wolf made his home in the caverns at its base. We shall see how it was seized by an offset of the Latin race, and converted by them into the stronghold of a warlike and aggressive people. We shall see, too, how the competition and jealousy of her lawless neighbours compelled the Romans (to give this people at once the

name which history has assigned them) to fight hard for their daily living. Now a nation that exists by fighting must also secure itself by alliances; and so it came about that the Romans early learnt to relax from the exclusiveness of manners and kinship characteristic of the Italians. Their martial temper was indeed formed in the school of active warfare; but they were nevertheless driven by circumstances or inclined by nature to sympathise with their allies and dependents, and to admit fresh infusions of blood together with fresh political ideas.

Such was the good fortune of Rome, or such the Providence which guided from the first the destinies of the Imperial city. First, the seven hills were united within the boundary of a single wall, and in the course of ages towns and villages, countries and continents, became connected together under one mighty polity. Bit by bit, and not without jealous resistance, the franchise of Rome, together with the rights and burthens of government, was conceded to the dwellers in rival cities and distant lands, until the Roman dominion grew into a world-wide empire, and all her subjects were Romans.

Around the Palatine hill this first nucleus of the empire, from the Apennine chain to the shore of the Mediterranean, from Mount Soracte in the north to the promontory of Circeii in the south, lies the undulating plain now known as the Campagna. This constituted the first zone of the Roman conquests. The peninsula of Italy, with all the spurs and valleys of the Apennines, and the richer plains which lie between those mountains and the sea, constitutes the second zone. Beyond Italy, we see the great basin of the Mediterranean confined by the ranges of the Alps and the Atlas, and by the mountains of Spain and Palestine, containing vast tracts of rich soil and multitudes of diverse peoples. All this varied portion of the earth's surface, all these numerous peoples, constituted the Roman empire at the height of its power. And yet the Roman empire embraced other lands and other populations also. Beyond the Alps lay Gaul, Germany, and Britain; beyond the mountains of Greece and Illyria extended the regions of Pannonia, Mœsia, and Dacia; beyond the Taurus and the Libanus were spread the realms of Pontus Armenia, Parthia, and Arabia, all of which owed allegiance—some for centuries, others for a few years only—to the power which was enthroned upon the Palatine.

CHAPTER II.

ORIGIN OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

WHEN we come to trace the early records of the Roman people we shall have to note the distinction between history and legend. It will be well, even before we arrive at that point, to glance at the mythology of the various races from whom the Romans were descended, and gather some faint and shadowy hints concerning the early conditions of their existence. The Roman Campagna, now for the most part a mere pasture ground for cattle, was undoubtedly in the primitive ages densely wooded with oak and ilex. The clearance of this forest proceeded gradually from the time of the first kings, and even as late as the period of the Empire some traces of it still remained not far from the city walls. The earliest mythology of Rome and Italy points to the great change produced by the first introduction of husbandry. Saturnus, the most ancient of the Italian divinities, is the god of sowing. His name marks the change from the life of the wandering hunter to that of the settled cultivator; the close of a period of incessant warfare, and the beginning of an era of peace and civility. The age of Saturn is the age of gold. His consort Ops is the representative of wealth, with which he is always associated. Again, it is an age of innocence and simplicity, of modesty and honest labour. It is an era of rustic equality, when everyone toiled for himself and gained his living by the work of his own hands, not by that of dependents and bondmen. The festival of the Saturnalia, in which the slaves of a later age were allowed for a few days all the license of free men, reminded the Romans of this happy period of equality and freedom.

The scythe which Saturn wields in later mythologies as the god of Time the destroyer, was in its origin the hook with which he taught men to prune their vines, to mow their grass, and to gather in their corn. The same implement is also the symbol of the gods who derive from him Janus and Vertumnus. Faunus, the son of Saturn, is represented as the inventor of manuring. Pilumnus, another son, is the patron of the art of pounding corn. The advent of the age of cultivation was cele-

brated throughout the peninsula: the people were conscious of the benefit they derived from it; and Italy became known as Saturnia tellus, the land of Saturn.

We next learn from tradition the names, and little more, of four distinct races which successively displaced each other on the soil of Rome. The age of gold was followed by an age of blood and iron. The earliest real name in Roman history is that of the Siculi. Dionysius, who compiled the most authentic account we have of Roman antiquities, tells us that Rome was first peopled by the Siculi. Other towns, such as Tibur and Antemnæ, are also reputed to have been founded by them. They seem to have spread from one end of Italy to the other, and to have been driven at last, by the pressure of powerful tribes behind them, into the island of Sicily. To this island they gave the name which it still retains, and it is from them probably that the present population actually derive their origin.

Next to the Siculi came the Ligures, and over them the darkness of antiquity settles with little less obscurity. We can, however, trace a connection between them and other known families of the human race. They seem to have been of the Basque stock, and it has been affirmed that some relics of their language still survive in Italy in the names of places. They in their turn had to submit to more powerful tribes, and shrank at last into one corner of the country which came to be known as Liguria. In that little strip of land between the foot of the Alps and the Mediterranean the peculiarities of their national character still continue to assert themselves. A very ancient tradition records the existence of a Septimontium, or political combination of seven hills, in a Rome far earlier than the historical city. This may have been the Rome of the Ligures. The names of Suburra, Esquilinus, and Carinæ have been derived from the Basque language.

The next people who claim our attention are the Pelasgians. This race, we know, were the occupants of Greece before the time of the Hellenes, and were spread far and wide over the face of Southern Europe. Their character and language were closely allied to those of the Greeks. To them we may ascribe the legends of Hercules on the soil of Italy. Their settlement at Rome may have given rise to the story of the Arcadian Evander having founded a Grecian city on the Palatine, and a similar

cause, perhaps, explains the early belief that so many sites in Western Italy were first colonised from Greece.

According to the prevailing tradition, the Pelasgians united

with the Aborigines or primitive inhabitants of Italy to overthrow the dominion of the Siculi and the Ligures. The new possessors erected massive fortifications, of which many fine

specimens may still be traced; and they impressed their mark more deeply upon Italy than any of their predecessors.

Before we come to the point at which our historic narrative may begin, it will be well to mark, with the map of Central Italy before us, how critically the site of Rome was placed with reference to neighbouring powers that might be arrayed against her. Long after the wave of Pelasgian migration had passed away we find three important nations met together just at this point. The Tiber, descending almost due south from the Apennines to the Mediterranean, divided the country of the Etruscans from that of the Sabines and the Latins. Again, the Anio (now the Teverone), running westward into the Tiber three miles from Rome, formed the line of demarcation between the Sabines and the Latins. These three nations alike were accustomed to dwell in fortified cities, and this fact alone may suffice to convince us that they were not aborigines, but conquerors who had intruded by force of arms into the country. We find them all alike in possession of the old Pelasgic fortresses, but in the Etruscan territory the conquest has been most complete. There the language of the Pelasgians has been obliterated; and their conquerors have not only occupied their ancient strongholds, but have adopted as their own and closely copied the Pelasgic style of massive fortification.

Whatever may have been the course of migration which led the Etruscans to their final settlement in Central Italy, their early connection with the East seems to be proved by the character of their institutions. Their religion was a mystery and a craft, like the Egyptian and other Eastern systems, and their priests were at the same time the warriors, the proprietors, and the statesmen of the commonwealth. Such was the Etruscan Lucumo, king, priest, and landlord, and as such he maintained himself, in spite of the advance of the commercial spirit among his people, some of whose cities on the Tyrrhene coast had become emporia of the traffic of the Mediterranean. But in the eighth century before our era the power of the Etruscans had already sustained a blow. Their territory north of the Apennines had been wrested from them, and to the south they had ceased to maintain their advanced posts in Latium and Campania. They were confined to a confederacy of twelve cities in Etruria proper, strictly allied, and still by far the strongest and most important community in Italy.

Their religion was of a refined character. They believed in a Supreme Being, a Providence or Fate, who was rather the soul of the world itself than a person exterior to it. The lesser gods were emanations from this being. They believed also in a future state of rewards and punishments. They imagined that the will of the deity and the course of future events might be ascertained by the observation of omens. Their soothsayers drew auguries from the flight of birds, from the appearance of the victims' entrails, from thunder and lightning and the heavenly meteors.

The religious ideas of the Sabines and Latins, on the other hand, were less refined, and affected less mystery. Their objects of worship were innumerable: the husbandman worshipped the genii of the winds and skies, the shepherd those who protected his flocks from the wild beasts or the murrain, the warrior those by whom his arrows were wafted to the mark or the crafty stratagem suggested. Every city had its guardian divinity; every wood and stream its genius, its nymph or faun; every family offered a special service to the patron of the house, the deified spirit of its earliest ancestor. This family worship of the Lares and Penates was regarded as of such solemn obligation that, in default of natural heirs, the practice of adoption was specially enjoined for its preservation; this usage seems to have been observed by the Etruscans as religiously as by the Sabines and Latins.

The religious ideas of these three races united to form those of the Roman people; and the threefold origin of the Roman state was no less strongly marked in its political institutions. From Etruria came the division into tribes, curies, and centuries; the array of battle; the ornaments of the magistracy, the laticlave, the prætexta, the curule chairs, and the lictors; the arrangement of the calendar, and the art and science of mensuration. From Latium were derived the names of prætor, consul, and dictator; the fecials or military heralds; the national respect for husbandry; and finally the basis of the Latin language itself. From Sabellia, the region of the Sabines, were deduced the names of military weapons, one of which, the spear or *quiris*, gave a second designation to the Roman people. The Roman title of Imperator seems to have been a popular application of the Sabine term *embratur*. The patri-

ciate and the patronship, the habit of dwelling in cities, and the municipal governments of these latter were common to all the nations which surrounded Rome. Such was also the case with the division into 'gentes,' clans or septs, and the remarkable extent of domestic authority accorded to the father and the husband.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY LEGENDS. FOUNDATION OF ROME. THE FIRST FOUR KINGS.

THE myth which connects Hercules with the site of Rome represents the demigod in combat with the robber Cacus, who dwelt in a cave beneath the Aventine. The flames vomited by this monster may perhaps represent the volcanic fires which at one time certainly underlay the whole of this region. Next to the legend of Evander, already noticed, comes that of Æneas, a fable no doubt of great antiquity, long current among the Romans, even before it became celebrated to all time through the poetry of Virgil and the noble prose of Livy. It runs as follows: Æneas, with his band of Trojans, storm-tost by the hate of Juno, but protected by superior powers and the eternal destiny of Rome, landed on the coast of Latium. His adversaries fell before him; and having allied himself by marriage with the royal house of the Laurentes, he reigned over their territory till he was drowned in the brook Numicius. His son Ascanius, or Iulus, founded Alba Longa on a ridge beneath the Alban Mount, and there the descendants of the Trojan hero had held sway for 300 years, till disunion arose between the royal brothers Numitor and Amulius, and the one was dispossessed by the other. Rhea Silvia, the daughter of the vanquished chief, was vowed to chastity as a vestal virgin, but she yielded to the embraces of the god Mars, and brought forth twins, whom their cruel uncle caused to be exposed. They were wafted, however, by the overflowing Tiber to the foot of the Palatine, where a she-wolf gave them suck till they were rescued by Faustulus, the keeper of the royal sheepfold. The boys, who bore the names of Romulus and Remus, were brought up as shepherds, and as they grew to man's estate they

excelled in beauty, strength, and courage. Remus was seized in a combat with the shepherds of Numitor and brought before his grandfather, to whom Romulus was also introduced by Faustulus, and the secret of their birth disclosed. The youths were encouraged to attack the tyrant Amulius, whom they conquered and slew. Thereupon Numitor surrendered to them the tract from the Tiber to the sixth milestone on the road to Alba. The brothers contested the honour of founding a city to be held by both in common. Appeal was made to the decision of augury. Remus, stationed on the Aventine, was the first to observe a flight of six vultures; but Romulus, from his post on the Palatine, was straightway favoured with the sight of twelve, and the people at once acknowledged him victor. Romulus yoked together a bull and a heifer, both without spot, and with a brazen ploughshare drew a furrow round the Palatine. Then he commenced the building of the wall, but ere it had reached to man's height Remus leapt in derision over it, and Celer, the friend of Romulus, or Romulus himself, slew him in his ire. The slayer of Remus had haughtily exclaimed, 'So perish all who dare to climb these ramparts!' and the words might be accepted as of good omen. Yet the people and their chief felt the shame and peril they had incurred, and to avert the anger of the gods Romulus instituted a festival in honour of his murdered brother.

Year of the city, U.C. 1. Before Christ B.C. 753.

Though himself, according to the legend, of royal birth, yet the followers whom Romulus collected round him were a crew of unknown and diverse origin. He invited the discontented and the lawless of all the country round to join him, and established an asylum for them on the Tarpeian hill. As soon as he deemed himself strong enough, he demanded wives from the neighbouring cities for the men he had thus collected; but such intermarriage was scornfully refused. Then he announced a festival in honour of the god Consus at the foot of the hill he occupied. The Sabines and the Latins crowded to the entertainment with their wives and daughters, when the Roman youth rushed upon them, and carried off the women to their stronghold. This was the famous rape of the Sabines. The Latins flew to arms, but were quickly defeated. The Sabines, biding their time and coming with greater force, actually penetrated into the Roman fastness. Tarpeia, daughter of the

warder of the citadel, was tempted by the glitter of the Sabines' bracelets, and offered to open the gates for the gift of what they bore on their left arms. They entered at her bidding, but indignantly crushed her to death under the weight of their bucklers. A battle ensued in the valley between the Tarpeian and the Palatine. The Sabines prevailed, and were pursuing the Romans up the ascent of their own hill, when Romulus vowed a temple to Jupiter, and the god miraculously stayed the assailants. The Romans in their turn drove the Sabines down into the valley. Then it was that the women, whom they had seized, threw themselves between the combatants and persuaded them not only to a reconciliation, but to a hearty friendship and alliance. The temple was duly erected and dedicated to Jupiter Stator. From age to age it was renewed and restored, and of late years its site has been laid bare and identified with tolerable certainty.

After this union the Palatine continued to be occupied by the Romans, while the Quirinal was assigned to the Sabines. The united people adopted in common the names of Romani and Quirites, the latter name being probably derived from *quiris*, the Sabine word for spear. The two kings, Romulus and Titus Tatius, reigned conjointly. The two peoples met to transact business in the valley between their respective hills, which spot came to be known as the Forum Romanum.

At the end of five years Tatius was slain in a battle with the Laurentines, and from this time Romulus reigned alone over the combined nations. He was a brave and victorious ruler, and made successful war upon the Etruscan people of Fidenæ and Veii. After a prosperous reign of thirty-seven years the founder of the Roman state was removed suddenly from the world. During a review in the Campus Martius an eclipse of the sun took place, accompanied by an awful tempest, which dispersed the people. When they reassembled the king had disappeared. Whether he was consumed by the lightning, or, as suggested by the Romans of a later age, murdered under cover of the darkness, could not be ascertained; but, in consequence of a vision vouchsafed to one Julius Proculus, he was believed to have been taken up to heaven in the chariot of his father Mars, and was thenceforward worshipped by the Romans as a protecting deity under the name of Quirinus.

A year elapsed before the two allied peoples could agree on

the choice of a successor. It was at last arranged that the Romans should elect, but that their choice should be made from among the Sabines.

The name of Numa Pompilius was received with acclamation. He was a disciple of Pythagoras, and reputed the wisest and most just of men. Moreover, he was a favourite of the gods, and under the guidance of the nymph Egeria, whom he consulted in her grotto at the foot of the Cœlian hill, he arranged the rites and ceremonies of the Roman religion. It was Numa who assigned their functions to the pontiffs, the augurs, and the fecials. To him was ascribed the institution of the College of Vestal Virgins, who should be chosen from the noblest families and have in their holy keeping the sacred fire, the palladium, and the penates of the city. He also appointed the Salii to guard the ancile, or shield, which had fallen from heaven, and to dance, as their name imports, in honour of Mars their patron. Numa forbade human sacrifices and the worship of idols or images. He encouraged the arts of agriculture, upon which the greatness of the Roman people was founded almost as firmly as upon arms. He also built the famous temple of Janus, the gates of which stood open in time of war but were closed during peace. During the nine-and-thirty years of this happy reign the gates of Janus were kept constantly shut. U.C. 39. B.C. 715.

The third king of Rome, Tullus Hostilius, was a complete contrast to the second. He was chosen by the Sabines from among the Romans. He was devoted throughout his career to warlike enterprises, whereby he consolidated and extended the power of the city. He made war on the people of Alba Longa; but the chiefs on either side agreed to avoid a general encounter, for fear lest, weakened by mutual slaughter, both nations should fall an easy prey to their common enemy the Etruscans. The quarrel was decided by a combat of three champions on each side. The Horatii, three brothers, fought for Rome; the Curiatii, also three brothers, fought for Alba. Two of the Horatii were first slain, but the three Curiatii, wounded and weakened, fell successively beneath the sword of the surviving Roman. A sister of the Horatii had loved a Curiatius, and disloyally bewailed the victory of her countrymen. Horatius slew her in his indignation. The people, horror-struck, brought him before the king for judgment, U.C. 80. B.C. 674.

But Tullus shrank from judging the man whose prowess had just gained a victory for Rome. Horatius was then brought before the Duumvirs, the judges who took cognisance of crimes of parricide, and they condemned him to be scourged and hanged. Then at last the murderer appealed to the people, and the people, moved to mercy by the thought of his recent exploit, absolved him from the penalty. The people of Alba were now subject to the authority of Rome, but Mettus Fufetius, their king, chafed at this subordinate position. He intrigued with the people of Fidenæ and Veii, and secretly incited them to a fresh war against Rome. Tullus summoned Mettus and his Albans to aid the Roman state against their enemies. The crafty Alban appeared with his army in the field, but took no part in the combat, and awaited the issue of the battle. The Romans won a splendid victory, and next day Tullus wreaked stern justice on the traitor Mettus by causing him to be tied between two chariots and torn asunder. He next proceeded to destroy the city of Alba, and to transport the people by force from their ancient habitations to a new home within the Roman city. They were compelled to settle on the Cœlian hill. Some of their nobles were admitted among the Roman patricians, but the bulk of them were excluded from the privileges of the governing class, and they formed the origin of the Roman plebs, of whose struggles with the patricians we shall hear so much as the history proceeds. After a warlike reign of thirty-two years, Tullus was struck dead by lightning while sacrificing to Jupiter Elicius.

Ancus Martius, a Sabine, was next elected king. He was a man of peace, who encouraged agriculture and commerce, and devoted himself to improving the laws and restoring the religion of Rome. When provoked to war, however, by the Latin tribes, he knew how to make the Roman arms respected. He was chiefly remarkable for his buildings and fortifications. To him are ascribed the wooden bridge over the Tiber (Pons Sublicius), the Mamertine prison under the Tarpeian hill, the port of Ostia at the mouth of the river, and the first imperfect ramparts on either bank, which foreshadowed the widespread walls of the imperial city. He reigned for twenty-four years, and died in peace and prosperity.

U.C. 113, B.C. 641.

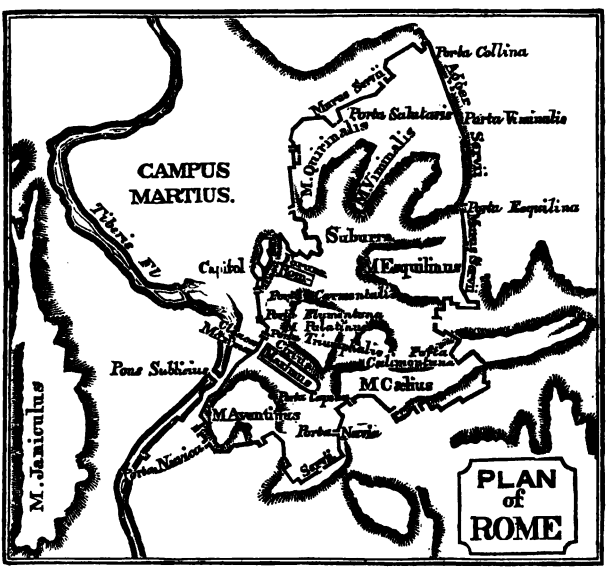
CHAPTER IV.

THE THREE LATTER KINGS.

UNDER the reign of Ancus a stranger had come to settle in Rome. He was the son of one Demaratus, a Greek of Corinth, who had fled his native country, and established himself at Tarquinii, in Etruria. He had married an Etruscan woman named Tanaquil, and finding himself excluded as a foreigner from any share in the government of his adopted country, at his wife's suggestion he migrated to Rome. By her skill in augury she divined that her husband was destined to greatness. At Rome he adopted the name of Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. He soon became a favourite both with the people and with the king. Ancus employed him in important affairs, and on his death-bed appointed him the guardian of his sons. On the death of Ancus, Tarquinius saw his opportunity and seized it. With the approval of the people, he set aside the sons of Ancus and seated himself upon the vacant throne. The accession of Tarquin to the royal power marks the influence of Etruria upon the growth of the Roman state. We now for the first time hear of public buildings rising in massive grandeur to adorn the city. Tarquin first embanked the river and drained the marshy low grounds which filled the valleys between the hills of Rome. A large portion of the solid vaulting of this huge work, known as the Cloaca Maxima, remains standing to this day. He enclosed the Forum with porticos, and fortified the city with walls of hewn stone. He also began the building of the Capitol on the Tarpeian hill, which was thenceforth called the Capitoline; and in the valley between the Palatine and Aventine hills he enlarged the Circus Maximus, and there gratified the people with shows and games on a scale of magnificence hitherto unknown to them. He is reputed to have carried on successful wars against both his Latin and Sabine neighbours, and to have employed the captives taken in these wars to labour on the public works already described. The Romans asserted that he was the first to celebrate the Roman triumph; and it was to Etruria that they ascribed the robe bespangled with

U.C. 136, B.C. 618.

gold, and the chariot drawn by four white horses, in which so many of their conquering generals afterwards ascended the Capitoline hill. The lictors, who, with their fasces, attended on the chief magistrates, the robes and ornaments of official persons, the costume of the soldiers in the field, and perhaps even the toga worn by the citizens at home, were probably derived from the same source. After a reign of nearly forty years Tarquinius Priscus was assassinated by the sons of Ancus



Martius. But they were not allowed to profit by their deed of vengeance. Tanaquil closed the gates of the palace, giving out that the king was wounded but not dead. She then addressed the people from a window, and produced to them her son-in-law Servius Tullius as the elect of the senate and the designated successor of her husband. This device succeeded, and when

U.C. 176, B.C. 578. Tarquin's death could no longer be concealed, Servius Tullius was accepted as king without opposition. Roman tradition declared of Servius that he was the son of a

slave girl born in the palace, who had been recommended to Tarquin by certain prodigies which surrounded his birth and infancy, and who had further gained his master's favour by his character and talents. The Etruscan writers, on the other hand, claimed Servius as their own countryman, and asserted that his real name was Mastarna, which he changed, on settling in Rome, for the Latin patronymic of Servius Tullius.

We cannot now decide between the truth of these rival stories. The reign of Servius was chiefly remarkable for the changes which he introduced into the Roman constitution, of which further notice will be taken in our next chapter. He was also, according to tradition, one of the great builders of the city. He gave to Rome the full extent which it attained during the whole period of the republic. He enclosed in one wall the various fortifications and detached buildings on the seven hills, uniting to the Palatine, the Aventine, the Capitoline and the Cœlian, the eastern half of the enclosure, which comprised the Quirinal, the Viminal, and the Esquiline. He then divided the city into four quarters, and the people into four tribes corresponding to them. Outside the city he distributed the Roman territory among twenty-six tribes, and these again were divided according to the census of their property into classes and centuries. The reign of Servius was generally peaceful; but the lands he acquired in war he distributed for the most part among the poorer citizens, and thereby he incurred the enmity of the old nobility, and became the victim of a conspiracy which they secretly favoured. The story relates that the two daughters of Servius were married to Lucius and Aruns, the sons of Tarquinius Priscus. But the pairs were ill-mated, for the ambitious and cruel Tullia was married to the gentle Aruns, while the proud Lucius was the husband of her softer sister. Lucius and Tullia were drawn towards each other by the similarity of their characters, and before long they made away with the brother and sister who stood in their way, and became united in a marriage stained by innocent blood. Lucius encroached upon the royal authority of his father-in-law, and boldly usurped the kingly seat in the senate-house. The aged king called upon the usurper to give place to him, but Lucius in reply hurled him down the steps of the senate-house, and as he was making his way home wounded and bleeding, he was followed and despatched by the adherents of

Tarquin. The heartless Tullia hastened to salute her husband as king: her father's body lay bleeding in the road before her, but she stopped not for that. Over the old man's corpse she ordered her chariot to be driven, and the parricide was stained with his blood. So great was the horror excited by this action that the street where it occurred was ever after known as the Vicus Sceleratus. The people grieved for the loss of the good king who had cared for their interests, and from that day might be dated the long and jealous hostility between the plebeian and patrician classes.

Lucius Tarquinius Superbus (so he was called on account of his pride) was a genuine tyrant. While he wielded the power he had usurped, his will was the sole law of Rome. Surrounded by a body guard, he murdered, pillaged, and banished according to his royal caprice. He gave his daughter in marriage to Mamilius, the chief of Tusculum, and, strengthened by this alliance, he succeeded in making Rome the mistress of the confederation of forty-seven Latin towns which had before been considered as allies standing side by side on a footing of equality. With the help of these subjects he carried the victorious arms of Rome into the country of the Hernici and the Volsci, and established Roman outposts in the midst of their conquered territories. The settlements of Signia and Circeii, composed of Roman and Latin citizens transplanted from their own homes, and endowed with conquered lands, constituted the first of the long list of colonies with which Rome secured her conquests and enriched her people. Meanwhile trouble had arisen in another quarter. Many of those whom Tarquin had banished from Rome had been kindly received by the people of Gabii, and for some years an irregular warfare had been carried on between the two cities. Sextus, the youngest son of Tarquin, was now sent by his father to Gabii. He pretended that he was seeking refuge for his life, which was threatened by his father's violence. The Gabians received him with alacrity and employed him in their service, and so successful was he in the field, that they trusted him more and more, until at length the whole power of the city was confided to his hands. Thereupon he sent secretly to his father to inquire how he should act. Tarquinius was walking in his garden when the envoy reached him, and as he listened to his son's message he moved up and down, cutting off the heads of all the tallest poppies with his

U.C. 220, B.C. 534.

stick, but making no reply. The messenger returned and reported what he had seen. Sextus understood the unspoken hint, and before long he found means by divers pretexts to destroy or drive away all the leading men of the town, which he then delivered up to his father.

The younger Tarquin was, like the elder, a great builder. His architects came from Etruria: his workmen were captives taken in the Volscian wars. His chief efforts were devoted to the completion of the Capitol, which had been begun by Piscus. This building, which became so famous and so sacred in after times, was a temple in which the three presiding deities of Rome, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, were to be worshipped under one roof. The name Capitolium was said to be derived from the head of one Tolus which was found fresh and bleeding when the foundations were being dug. Beneath the substructions of this august edifice were enshrined the prophetic books which had been sold to the king by the Sibyl of Cumæ, and which were believed to contain predictions of the future destinies of Rome. One day a strange woman appeared before the king and offered him nine volumes at the price of 300 gold pieces. The king refused. She departed, and after burning three of the volumes returned and offered the remaining six at the same price. Again Tarquin refused, and again the Sibyl destroyed three volumes, and once more insisted on the first price for the three she still offered. Then at last Tarquin yielded, and the volumes, now trebly precious, were henceforth preserved as the most sacred treasure of the Roman state. They were placed in the charge of two officers of high rank. In times of danger they were solemnly opened and consulted; and more than once they became an important instrument of government in the hands of priests and nobles.

We next hear of a prodigy which greatly alarmed the tyrant. One day a serpent crawled out from beneath the altar and devoured the flesh that was upon it. So fearful a portent demanded an explanation, and Tarquin sent his two sons Titus and Aruns, together with his nephew Junius Brutus, who from motives of policy had for some time pretended to be half-witted, to inquire at the oracle of Delphi the meaning of what had occurred. After obtaining their answer, they further inquired on their own account which of them should succeed to their father's power. 'He,' replied the priestess, 'who shall first

salute his mother.' On their return the princes hurried to the chamber of the women, each of them eager to be the first to kiss his mother; but Brutus, who better understood the riddle, contrived to stumble, and so falling forwards he embraced the earth the mother of us all.

Tarquin was at this time engaged with his army in besieging Ardea, the capital of the Rutuli. The young Roman nobles found the time pass wearily in the monotonous duties of a blockade. One evening the sons of Tarquin were carousing with their cousin Tarquinius of Collatia, when a dispute arose as to which of their wives at home was the most virtuous. At the suggestion of Collatinus they mounted their horses and rode off through the night to Rome, so as to take the ladies by surprise. The princesses were found idling and amusing themselves. Next Collatia was visited, and there they found the fair Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, busy among her maidens plying the loom. The prize of virtue was readily conceded to her, and the young men rode back to camp. But Sextus, the son of Tarquin, inflamed by the sight of such beauty and virtue united, returned under cover of the night and asked for shelter as her husband's friend. He was hospitably entertained, but in the dead of night he entered Lucretia's chamber with his drawn sword, and with mingled threats and entreaties attempted to dishonour her. Her virtue was staunch against all attempts. Then he threatened not only to slay her, but also to kill a slave and lay his body beside hers, and to proclaim that he had found them so together. Dreading such a terrible disgrace she yielded, but as soon as Sextus was gone she sent for her husband Collatinus and her father Lucretius, and on their arrival, accompanied by Brutus and Volumnius, she told them the whole story, and then stabbed herself to the heart. Brutus, enraged at the perfidy of Sextus, threw off the mask of simplicity and took the lead at once. Snatching the dagger from her bleeding breast he swore solemnly to be avenged on the whole race of Tarquinius. The others followed his example. They bore the body to the Forum and explained to the people what had happened: the men flew to arms and ratified the oath of vengeance. At the head of a small party Brutus hurried to Rome, called the people together, and in burning sentences laid the matter before them. The Romans did not hesitate. A decree was passed at the instant to dethrone the

tyrant and expel his descendants from the city. Tarquin hastened back, but finding the gates closed against him, he retired into Etruria, where he soon engaged friends to assist him. He then sent envoys to negotiate for the recovery of his property, and they incited the adherents of Tarquin in the city to plot for his restoration to power. Brutus and Collatinus had been already appointed to exercise the government for a year with the title of consuls, and to them the plot was betrayed by a slave. The conspirators were all arrested, and among them were found two of Brutus' own sons. The liberator in his chair of office sat in judgment on them, and condemned them all to death without exception. He himself presided sternly while his two sons paid for their treason with their lives. The property of Tarquin was given up to pillage: the family was proscribed, and even Collatinus was forced to flee. Valerius was chosen consul in his place. But Tarquin with the Etruscans at his back was now advancing. The consuls led forth the Roman legions to encounter him. In the battle which ensued Brutus and Aruns, the son of Tarquin, fell dead together, each slain by the other. As with the leaders so with the followers. They fell man for man, and the battle seemed to be drawn. In the night a voice was heard from the forest of Arsia proclaiming that Rome had lost one man less than Etruria. This sufficed for the Etruscans, who retired in dismay. Brutus recived a public funeral, and the matrons of Rome wore mourning in his honour for a year. U.C. 245, B.C. 509.

Once again the Etruscans attempted under Lars Porsena to bring back the tyrant Tarquin to Rome. Then it was that Horatius Cocles held the bridge for a moment single-handed against the Tuscan host, while the timbers crashed down into the Tiber behind him under the strokes of the Roman axes. This too was the occasion when the maiden Cloelia, who had been given up as a hostage to Porsena, escaped by swimming the Tiber on horseback. Another story of this time is that of Mucius Scævola, who with three hundred other youths had sworn to take the life of Porsena. Mistaking the king's secretary for the king, he struck the former, and when captured and threatened with torture by fire if he did not reveal the whole plot, he calmly thrust his right hand into the flame on an altar close by, and suffered it to be burnt without a groan. Porsena granted him life and liberty, and, filled with admiration at these

deeds of heroism, retired from Rome and abandoned Tarquin to his fate.

The discrowned tyrant now took refuge with his son-in-law Mamilius at Tusculum, and with the aid of the Latin people made one last effort to recover his kingdom. The battle was fought on the shores of the lake Regillus, near Alba. In the crisis of the combat Valerius vowed a temple to Castor and Pollux. Presently two youths of eminent beauty and stature were seen fighting on white horses in front of the Romans and turning the enemy to flight. While the victors were still engaged in the pursuit, the same unearthly warriors appeared suddenly in the Forum, washed their arms at the fountain of Juturna, announced the victory and straightway vanished. The leaders on both sides had met in single combat. The aged Tarquin retired wounded from the field. His last surviving son Titus was slain, so was his son-in-law Mamilius of Tusculum. Among the Romans fell a Valerius, a Herminius, and an Æbutius. Tarquin, though he escaped with his life, despaired of obtaining any further succour. He retired to Cumæ, and there perished in a miserable old age.

U.C. 258, B.C. 496.

With the death of the second Tarquin our sketch of the legendary history of the seven kings of Rome comes to an end. It seems to have been accepted without question by the early Roman writers, both poets and historians; it was doubtless known as a familiar tradition among the people; and it is so woven into the whole literature of Rome, that every student of Roman history is bound to be familiar with it. And yet it must be clearly understood that the narrative given above is not of the nature of trustworthy history, and it may be well here to notice some of the grounds for assigning to it only a legendary value.

(1). The supernatural incidents scattered through the story are clearly unhistorical. Such are the miraculous births of Romulus and of Servius Tullius; the suckling of Romulus and Remus by the she-wolf; the translation of Romulus to heaven in the lightning chariot of his father Mars; the intercourse between Numa Pompilius and the nymph Egeria; Tarquin's augury of greatness from the strange behaviour of the eagle when he entered Rome; the appearance of the divine beings Castor and Pollux at the battle of the lake Regillus.

(2). The chronology of the story is not consistent with ex-

perience or with itself. The period of 240 years is assigned to the reigns of only seven elective kings, of whom four died violent deaths, and one was dethroned some years before his death. This statement gives an average of thirty-four years to each reign; whereas in five centuries of the authentic history of Venice we find that forty doges, who were also elective rulers, reigned on an average only twelve and a half years each. The inconsistencies of the chronology in the family history of the Tarquins and Servius Tullius are easily detected.

(3). As often happens in legendary stories, we find the same series of events related twice over with slight modifications and ascribed to different persons. In the case before us the story of Tullus Hostilius corresponds in many of its details to that of Romulus, while Ancus Martius is the exact counterpart of Numa. The forty-three years of profound peace ascribed to Numa's reign are quite incredible when compared with the warlike careers of his predecessor and successor.

(4). Many of the incidents are palpably of Greek origin; such are the stories of the craft used by Sextus Tarquinius towards the Gabians, and of the message sent to him in dumb show by his father, the originals of both of which may be found in the pages of Herodotus. The visit of Brutus and the two sons of Tarquin to the oracle of Delphi was doubtless invented by some Greek writer of later times.

(5). The whole account of the Regifugium and of the war with the Etruscans under Porsena is *primâ facie* incredible, and a manifest perversion of the facts to flatter the vanity of the Roman people. Circumstances are recorded by Pliny and other Roman writers which make it certain that Rome was at this very time so completely subjugated by the Etruscans that the use of iron, except for agricultural purposes, was forbidden to its inhabitants.

CHAPTER V.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ROMAN COMMONWEALTH UNDER THE EARLY KINGS, UNDER SERVIUS TULLIUS, UNDER THE REPUBLIC.

THE time has now come to take a general survey of the political system under which Rome was governed during the period of the kings, together with the changes said to have been intro-

duced by Servius Tullius. This will enable us better to understand the position of affairs when the republic came to be the established order of the state.

It has been already pointed out that there were three distinct national elements which united to form the body of the Roman people, viz., a Latin element, a Sabine and an Etruscan. Corresponding with this threefold origin, we find that in the time of Romulus the Romans were divided into three tribes, the Ramnes, the Tatienses or Tities, and the Luceres. The last-named tribe was for a long time regarded as of inferior dignity to the two others, and its chiefs were distinguished as *patres minorum gentium*. The Ramnes, or first followers of Romulus, took precedence of both the other tribes. The persons who composed these three tribes may be looked upon as the founders of the Roman state. They were also the founders of the great Roman families. They constituted, in the first instance, when Rome was yet a small city, the whole body of Roman citizens. As such they were jealous of their civic rights and did not lightly confer them upon strangers, but were careful to pass on their exclusive privileges to their own children. As time went on, extensive tracts of country, many important cities, and whole tribes of neighbouring people became subject to the authority of Rome, and a large population was naturally attracted to the capital. These new comers however were not generally admitted to the rights of citizens, but occupied an inferior position; and thus the families descended from the original Romans were separated off into a distinct class. Political power, being concentrated in their hands, became to them a source of superior wealth. They, and they alone, formed the *Populus Romanus*. They were also spoken of as Patres or Patricii. In a word, they constituted a hereditary nobility. There existed, however, an important link between these noble families and the less favoured classes. The chief of each Patrician gens could take under his protection any outsiders whom he chose, and admit them to some of the privileges of his house. The persons so received were called his *clients*, and they adopted his Gentile or family name. They followed him to the wars like the vassals of some feudal prince in the middle ages. In peace they formed a petty court around him. They were expected to render him obedience and money service when he needed it, as for instance when he had a fine to pay, or wanted to portion his daughters. He was called their Patron

(*patronus*). It was his duty to protect them from oppression, to relieve them in poverty, to expound the law to them, and to plead for them personally as an advocate whenever they were brought into the law courts. These clients of the great houses formed a numerous body intermediate in position between the patricians and the common people.[1] They enjoyed an inferior kind of citizenship, but had no votes in the patrician assemblies.

Each of the three tribes was divided into ten curies, and each cury into ten gentes or houses. Thus there were thirty curies and three hundred gentes. From time to time this whole body of citizens was convened in an assembly or comitia, entitled the 'Comitia Curiata.' The votes were given by curies, but the vote of each cury was determined by the independent suffrages of the citizens who composed it. The business transacted consisted of the election of magistrates, including the king himself; the declaration of war, and ratification of peace; appeals in criminal cases involving the life or death of a Roman citizen; and the passing of new laws. It must be observed, however, that this comitia had no power to propose any change in the law; the curies could only vote aye or no upon the questions submitted to them by the king or his representative. The assembly of the curies was held within the city, and the transaction of business was always preceded by a solemn religious service. It was only on rare occasions that this comitia was called into action.

The ordinary affairs of the state were entrusted to the management of a more select body under the illustrious title of the senate. The name indicates that this was originally a council of elders, who aided the king with their advice and experience. Such a council generally existed in all the petty states of ancient Greece and Italy. In Rome it was chosen in early times from among the curies, and therefore represented the patrician class only. The king was chosen by the senators and recommended by them to the curies for election. He in his turn presided over their meetings and selected those who should fill vacant places. The senate controlled the finances, imposed taxes, and voted the money required for public purposes. The senate also discussed all changes in the law, and managed the foreign affairs of the state.

The number of senators corresponded closely to the number

[1] From what sources the clients were originally drawn is a question not yet conclusively answered.

of patrician houses, being at first 100, then, after the incorporation of the Titienses or Sabines, 200, and at last, when the three original tribes had been united, 300. A body guard of armed and mounted nobles called knights (*equites*) or *celeres* was appointed to attend on the person of the king. Their number was the same as that of the senators, viz. 300, and they ranked next in dignity to them. Throughout the regal and republican periods of Roman history, extending over 700 years, and beyond this, late on in imperial times, we shall constantly meet with these two important orders of senators and knights side by side, claiming exclusive rights to fill some of the highest offices of state. During the republican period the senators could no longer be appointed by the king, for there was none, and the custom grew up for all those who had been elected to public office as consuls, prætors, censors, ædiles or quæstors, and had passed their year of office, to have seats allowed them in the senate house, where they might speak, but could not vote; and from this body of citizens it was the duty of the censor to call up all who were not unworthy to fill the vacancies in the senate as they might occur. Under Tarquinius Priscus a new group of patrician houses or gentes was added to each of the three ancient tribes, so that each tribe thenceforth consisted of two divisions, and the patrician families were arranged in six different groups or divisions.

Thus far we have spoken only of those citizens who traced their origin to the first founders of Rome, or whose families had been raised by royal favour to a position of equality with them.

We must now take notice of the fact that around this central cluster of families a large population soon began to collect. Some were captives in war, whom the Roman armies had removed from their own homes and compelled to settle within the precincts, or at least within the territory, of Rome; others were strangers who took up their abode there voluntarily for purposes of trade. They were tolerated and made use of as soldiers in time of war, but had no share in the government; they were not allowed to marry into the patrician families, or even to traffic with them; nor did they obtain any share of the lands conquered in war. These people were classed together under the general name of *plebs*, as the patricians were under that of *populus*. They dwelt mainly in the valleys which separated the hills of Rome one from another, till Ancus Martius joined the Aventine hill specially to them. Many were

scattered over the surrounding country as farm-bailiffs and labourers in the employ of the rich patrician landowners. In the course of time many of these plebeians began to amass riches. They were thrifty in trade; they lent money on usury; they made a profit by farming the estates of the patricians. As the plebeian class rose in numbers and importance, the patrician, like every exclusive aristocracy, had a tendency to decay, and many noble families died out and disappeared. Under these altered circumstances there arose a need for some re-arrangement of the relations between the one class and the other, and the interest of the civil history of the republic turns mainly upon the continual struggles by which the plebeians raised themselves to the same level of dignity and political power with their haughty rivals. We have seen that Tarquinius Priscus did ennoble some plebeian families, and thus recruited the strength of the patricians. But after him came Servius Tullius, who, as a foreigner by birth, seems to have had little sympathy with the exclusiveness of the Roman patriciate, and who, as a wise statesman, saw that the time was come when the Roman state required a broader basis; accordingly he made an effort to weld together the two classes into one compact body of citizens. For this purpose he made use of two instruments, the tribes and the centuries; that is to say, he reorganised first the civil and next the military power of the nation.

First as to the tribes. He divided the whole Roman territory into thirty districts, four within the city, and twenty-six outside. The people, without distinction of birth or wealth, he divided into thirty corresponding tribes. Each tribe had its chief officer, the *tribunus*, who kept the list of its families, and levied the tax '*tributum*' payable by each. Every tribe had also its own judges and police, its own *tribunals*, its own temples. From time to time the people were convened to an assembly of the tribes called the comitia tributa; but these assemblies did not at first deal with important affairs of state. They might rather be likened to our parish vestries. They elected their own tribal officers, taxed themselves for such local purposes as roads and police, and made by-laws for their own self-government. In course of time, however, as the plebeians rose in importance, the comitia tributa also acquired more weight and power, and began to deal with state affairs, while their chief officers, the tribunes of the plebs, came to exercise great political influence and authority.

But the most effective scheme devised by Servius for uniting the Roman people into one body was the military constitution of the centuries. Every five years a census was taken, both of the people and of their property. This census was accompanied by religious rites for the purification of the city, and the period of five years was called a lustrum and used as a mode of reckoning the lapse of time. After each census the people were divided into six classes, according to their wealth, and these classes were again subdivided into centuries. The people, thus classified, were convened in a public assembly called the comitia centuriata. They met outside the city in the Campus Martius, because they met as a militia under arms. The business transacted was the same as had previously belonged to the comitia curiata. The classification of this popular army was arranged as follows.

First came the cavalry, consisting of eighteen centuries of equites or knights. Six of these were provided by the six divisions of the three original tribes, and to them Servius added twelve new centuries of the richest plebeian families. Next came the infantry, divided as follows:—

Cavalry			= 18
Infantry:—	Property.	Centuries.	
Class I. . .	100,000 asses and upwards	40 of old men 40 of young men 2 of engineers and artillerists	= 82
Class II. .	From 75,000 asses to 100,000 asses.	10 of old men 10 of young men	= 20
Class III. .	From 50,000 asses to 75,000 asses.	10 of old men 10 of young men	= 20
Class IV. .	From 25,000 asses to 50,000 asses.	10 of old men 10 of young men	= 20
Class V. .	From 12,500 asses to 25,000 asses.	15 of old men 15 of young men	= 33
	Accensi or reserved troops	1 century	
	Bandsmen (cornicines and tubicines).	2 centuries	
Class VI. .	Proletarii — persons whose property was too small to be reckoned, and therefore were only polled (*capite censi*).	1 century	= 1
		Total . . .	= 194

Note. — The above table follows Livy's account of the centuries. Cicero and Dionysius of Halicarnassus make no mention of the one century of accensi, and therefore reckon one century less, or 193 in all.

It will be seen at once how much power accrued by this system to the wealthier citizens, for as the votes were given by centuries, and the first class, together with the knights, contained more centuries than all the others put together, it follows that whenever the knights and the richest plebeians combined their votes, the question was at once settled without calling for the suffrages of the poorer citizens at all. During the sitting of the comitia centuriata, a red flag was hoisted on the Janiculum, guarded by a picket of soldiers. Originally the striking of this military ensign denoted the approach of a hostile Etruscan force, and the comitia was instantly broken up to allow the citizen soldiers to rush to the defence of their ramparts. Subsequently the signal might be given on the demand of any tribune who should declare the omens to be adverse, as at the sound of thunder, or even the falling of rain. In any case, on the appearance of the signal, the business of the assembly was at once suspended. The decisions of the centuries were still supposed to require confirmation by the comitia curiata, which consisted of patricians only; but this nominal control did not long continue effective.

A more important instrument of power was, however, long maintained by the patricians in their own hands, viz. the entire regulation of the national religion. The Pontifex Maximus, who was aided by a college of minor pontiffs, at first four, afterwards fifteen in number, was the high priest of the Roman religion. He was not the priest of any special divinity, but it was his business to see that the worship of all the various deities recognised at Rome was duly observed both in public and private. He appointed the flamens or priests of individual gods, of which the three principal were those of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus. He also appointed and controlled the vestal virgins who guarded the fire sacred to Vesta, and the augurs who watched the flight of birds and inquired the divine will from the entrails of victims. The pontifex had moreover a criminal jurisdiction in certain cases, and he regulated the calendar by the intercalation of an extra month, according to the imperfect system ascribed to Numa. As no public assembly could be held except on certain lawful days, and no business could be transacted unless the auguries were declared favourable, it is evident that the patrician pontifex was invested with no little power.

Among the insignia of sovereignty imported into Rome from Etruria by the Tarquins was the sella curulis or curule chair. It was a stool of simple form supported by two pairs of curved legs, the members of each pair crossing in the centre. It was adorned with ivory, and it is possible that the shape of the legs may have been derived from that of an elephant's tusk. This form of chair was preserved throughout the republican period, and assigned as a throne of office to the chief magistrates, who were called in consequence *curule* magistrates. Their titles and functions shall now be described in order.

1. *The consuls*, two in number, who shared the power formerly held by the kings, but resigned it at the end of a year to their elected successors. To avoid a conflict of authority, the two consuls generally exercised supreme power month by month in turn, and in time of war it was usual for one to command in the field while the other ruled over the city at home. The consul was the general-in-chief of the army. He was also the chief judge in the law courts. He presided in the senate and in the other public assemblies, either in person or by deputy. He conducted negotiations with foreign states, and expended the public moneys with the consent of the senate. He was, in fact, the chief executive officer, who carried out what had been determined by the republican assemblies. Each consul was attended by twelve lictors or guards, armed with fasces, consisting of a bundle of rods with an axe inserted in their midst. The word 'consul' has been derived by the analogy of 'exul' and 'præsul' from *con* and *salio*, indicating that they *marched together* with joint power and equal dignity.

2. *The prætor*. This title is derived from *præ-ire*, to go before. It was the old Latian term for a commander of an army, and was so used in Rome in very early times. The term 'prætorium' derived from it never ceased to designate the 'general's tent' or 'head-quarters' of a Roman camp. In the Roman republic, however, the *consul* was the general of the army and the title of *prætor* lost its old signification. In the year B.C. 366 a new office was created, to designate which this title was revived. The prætor's duties were very similar to those of the consul, but were exercised under the control and authority of the higher magistrate. The prætor was attended

by only six lictors, and in later times their number was reduced to two. In the absence or in case of the death of the consul a prætor might command a Roman army. In the city his especial function was the administration of justice. In the year B.C. 246 a second prætor was created to settle disputes between foreigners, or between foreigners and citizens. In later times additional prætors were sometimes appointed to govern newly conquered provinces.

3. *The censors*, two in number. Originally, the duty of these officers was to keep the register of the citizens and of their property. The function of selecting fit persons to fill vacancies in the senate, and also of elevating plebeian notables to the rank of knights, next passed into their hands. Out of this power grew a general authority to inquire into the conduct of all citizens both in public and private life. Not only criminal actions, but such failings as extravagance, harsh conduct to relatives, remaining too long unmarried, and the like, were liable to be noted by the censors. They could punish persons of position by erasing their names from the album of the senate or of the equestrian order; while citizens of a humbler rank might be posted, and their misdeeds subjected to a public reprimand or *censure*. In later times the finances of the state fell much under the control of the censors.

4. *The ædiles* were at first plebeian officers, the conservators of the public buildings, the temples, the roads, the sewers, and the aqueducts. They also superintended the markets, and distributed the doles of cheap corn which at a later period were made to the common people at the public expense. In the year B.C. 365, U.C. 389, two patrician ædiles were appointed, with the title *Ædiles Curules*, in addition to those already existing. They exercised an authority very similar to that of their plebeian colleagues, but it was their especial business to conduct the public games and theatrical performances, and on these objects they often lavished vast sums from their private resources. This was done to win the favour of the populace, and to secure their election to the higher offices of state.

5. *The quæstors* were in the first instance the accountants and secretaries of the treasury of the republic. They collected the revenue, and made the payments out of the public funds. They also registered the laws passed by the senate; it was

their business to entertain envoys from foreign states, and they had the charge of all public funerals and public monuments. These quæstors, who were of curule dignity, must be distinguished from the military quæstors, who filled the place of adjutants or paymasters to the legions.

Such were the magistrates by whom the commonwealth was ordinarily ruled, and such the gradation of their offices, the 'course of honours' through which a candidate for the highest distinctions must pass to attain the title of 'nobilis,' and ennoble both himself and his family. If the authority of the consul was hardly less extensive than that of the king whom he replaced and who was regarded as a tyrant or despot, it was restricted to the term of a single year, and was shared by him with a colleague. But in seasons of great emergency arising either from the stress of foreign war or popular sedition, the whole power of the state was flung boldly into the hands of a single ruler, restricted only by the limitation of his office within the short period of six months.

6. *The dictator*, as he was called, was nominated by one of the consuls, who must be authorised so to do by a decree of the senate. During his brief term of office he combined the power of both the consuls. To his person the whole of the twenty-four consular lictors were attached. He himself appointed a second in command with the title of 'Master of the horse' (*Magister equitum*). Many were the occasions when the patrician class, acting through the senate and the consuls, used this power of creating a dictator as a check upon the plebeians, when their political agitation became too menacing.

CHAPTER VI.

CRUEL OPPRESSION OF THE PLEBEIANS. THEIR FIRST EFFORT TO OBTAIN JUSTICE.

THE dates of the events hitherto recorded from the building of Rome to the Regifugium, or expulsion of the kings, are not really known with any certainty. But more confidence may be placed in the date assigned to the Regifugium,

because from that period the Romans began to record the lapse of time by driving a nail every year into the temple of Minerva, and also by carefully preserving a list of the successive consuls. We shall henceforth be guided in our chronology by the Roman writer Varro, and aided by the modern investigations of Fynes Clinton and Fischer. U.C. 245, B.C. 509.

On the expulsion of their king, the Romans elected L. Junius Brutus and L. Tarquinius Collatinus to be the two first consuls. They are said to have revived the constitution of Servius Tullius, which had been overthrown during the tyranny of Tarquin. They restored to the plebeians their own judges, and gave them a right of appeal to the comitia tributa. They distributed among them many lots of public land, and called up 100 of them to the senate. It was not long before Collatinus was driven into exile as a near relative of Tarquin. Valerius replaced him. Then Brutus, within the year of his consulate, fell in battle against the Etruscans. Valerius remained alone in power, and the people, noticing that he was building a mansion for himself on one of the hills, murmured that he was aiming at the kingly power. Forthwith he had the rising walls of his house destroyed, and contented himself with a modest cabin on the slope of the hill. He also carried a decree by which royal rule was prohibited, and the very names of king and kingdom made accursed for ever in Rome. His patriotism was rewarded by the splendid surname of Poplicola.

During the ensuing years there followed a continual succession of wars against Etruscan, Sabine, and Latin enemies, and, according to some accounts, Rome was for a time subdued and disarmed by Porsena. At any rate, there is no doubt that she suffered the loss of all her territory on the right bank of the Tiber, and this loss seriously crippled the resources both of the state and of some of the citizens. In the year B.C. 501 the first dictator, Spurius Lartius, was appointed, and in B.C. 496 the same office was revived in the person of Aulus Postumius, who led the Roman army to victory in the great battle of Lake Regillus.

Up to this time the pressure of foreign war had held the two great classes of the Roman people together. But this union did not long endure. In spite of the favour shown to the plebeians, first by Servius and then by Brutus and Valerius,

the patricians regarded them with intense jealousy, and aimed at reducing them to a condition of abject servitude. This they tried to effect by the operation of the Roman law of debt. It has been explained that when any territory was conquered in war it was treated as the property of the state, and the patricians contrived to have it granted to them at a nominal rent, so that they really enjoyed it as their own possession. Of course they extracted a large income from this source. The booty taken in war was also paid into the treasury of the patricians. They also received fees for various services from their numerous clients, and they kept all profitable trade in their own hands. In this way the patricians amassed large sums of money. The plebeians, on the other hand, were for the most part poor struggling husbandmen, heavily taxed, exposed to severe losses by the incursion of hostile armies, and often in want of ready money. The patricians were ready enough to lend it to them, but exacted for its use a high rate of interest. Meanwhile, in cases of debt the law gave every advantage to the lender as against the borrower. It entitled him to seize the estate of his debtor to the last farthing, to lock up the bankrupt in prison, or sell him into slavery with all his family; and where the creditors were numerous, they were authorised, in default of payment, to cut their debtor's body in pieces and share it between them. These laws applied equally to all Romans, but the plebeians were the chief sufferers by them. They groaned under the burden of debt and the harshness of their creditors, and but little was wanting to rouse them to fury against their oppressors. One day during the consulship of Appius Claudius and P. Servilius an old man rushed into the Forum, clothed in rags and bound with fetters, and appealed to the people for protection. He was recognised as one of the bravest centurions in the Roman army. On his breast he bore the scars of honourable wounds received in battle. On his back were seen the marks of recent stripes. This incident so inflamed the people that a tumult arose. At the same moment it was announced that the Volscians were in arms. The consuls summoned the people to enlist. The plebs refused, and defied the law. The consuls promised that their wrongs should be redressed, and even offered release from their debts to all who would serve. The ranks were soon filled. The enemy was

U.C. 259, B.C. 495.

defeated. Servilius led home his victorious army; but the senate, with Appius at their head, now refused to fulfil their bargain, and ordered the debtors back to their prisons. The people, however, resisted this measure by force. In the following year their discontent became so menacing, that the senate appointed as dictator to quell the sedition Valerius Volesus. He dealt wisely and mildly with the insurgents, and earned their goodwill; but his efforts at conciliation failed, and at length the plebeians seceded in a body from the city to a rising ground three miles distant, which was afterwards called the 'Mons Sacer,' or Sacred Hill. A civil war seemed imminent; but both parties shrank from such a suicidal course. The patricians then sent the ten first of the senate to treat with the seceders. One of the mediators, Menenius Agrippa by name, addressed to them the famous fable of the belly and the members. It ran as follows:— 'There was a time when all the members rebelled against the belly. "It is not just," said they, "that we should labour as we do in our several ways, and all for the benefit of this idle, good-for-nothing belly, which lies at its ease in the middle, and does nothing but enjoy itself." They therefore agreed together to do no more work for the belly. The hands should refuse to carry any food to the mouth; the mouth should not receive any; the teeth should not chew any. Thus they would starve the belly into a greater activity. But even as they did so they found themselves enfeebled and emaciated, and they then perceived that it was to the belly they owed the support of their own life, and that if it received much, it also distributed to all the other members the nourishment which they required.' This fable was readily applied by his hearers to the schism between themselves and the patricians, and they acknowledged that the two classes of citizens were dependent one upon the other, and that neither could do without the other. Peace was made, and this time the senate acted with good faith: the imprisoned debtors were set free, and the insolvent released from their obligations.

U.C. 260, B.C. 494.

By far the most important result of this settlement was that the plebs acquired the right of appointing officers of their own, whose power should be an effectual check on that of the patrician magistrates.

The tribunes of the plebs were henceforth declared in-

violable in their persons. To slay them was a sacrilege. Any who should dare to do so became accursed and an outlaw: his life might be taken by any man, and his property was confiscated. The patrician pontiffs still retained the power of hindering the action of the public assemblies with their ritual and augural punctilios, but henceforth the tribunes of the plebs might in their turn put a veto on the decrees of the senate itself.

The institution of the tribunes affected the whole subsequent history of Rome. First, it kept the consuls in check; in time it acquired for the plebs a share in all the privileges of the populus; and at length it effected a fusion of the rival orders of the early commonwealth. When, after the great conquests of Rome, the struggle of classes lay no longer between patricians and plebeians, the power of the tribunes still supported the cause of the people, and secured its final triumph in the establishment of the empire. The emperors themselves assumed the name and office of tribunes, and claimed to be the protectors of popular rights.

Truly the secession to the Mons Sacer was 'not a revolt, but a revolution.' It was fitting that so important an event should be celebrated with special solemnities. Vows were made, sacrifices were offered, and an altar was erected to Jove the Thunderer, under which name the best and chiefest of the gods was venerated. The compact between the two orders was invested with peculiar sanctity under the title of the Leges Sacratæ.

CHAPTER VII.

AGRARIAN AGITATION. HEROISM OF THE PATRICIANS.

ENCOURAGED by the guarantees which they had won for their personal liberty, the plebeians now began to agitate for the redress of another crying grievance. This was the monopoly of land in the hands of the patrician class. Land was in those days the chief source of wealth, and the plebeians complained that they were unjustly excluded from their fair share of it. In the early days of Rome each of the citizens had a space of two jugera (about an acre and a half) assigned to him as his

own property. This was called quiritary land, and passed from father to son by inheritance. The remainder of the Roman territory (ager Romanus) was supposed to be the property of the state. A portion of this was pasture, which was treated as a common grazing ground for the cattle of the citizens, and for this privilege they paid so much a head upon their cattle to the public treasury. The other portion was arable land, and this was divided among the patricians, who held it, not as their own property, but as tenants of the state, and they were bound to pay to the treasury an annual rent of one-tenth of the produce in the case of corn land, and two-tenths in the case of vineyards and olive gardens.

As the plebeian population increased around them, and with it the extent and value of the public land grew greater, the patricians jealously excluded the plebeian class from all share in the advantages which they themselves enjoyed. They would not even allow them to graze their cattle on the common pastures; and, further, they neglected to pay the annual tithe and the grazing money which was due from them to the treasury. Thus, as the public domain was enlarged by war, the patricians grew more and more wealthy, while at the same time they evaded the taxation which the law imposed upon them. Meanwhile the plebeians, who supplied the infantry of the army by which these valuable conquests were won, received no share of the spoils, and were heavily loaded with taxation. No wonder that they chafed at such injustice. There had indeed been times when a more generous treatment had been accorded to them. Servius Tullius had favoured the plebeians, and assigned much of the public land to them; and after the expulsion of the Tarquins, Brutus had pursued the same just policy. But it was not long before the patricians reversed this order of things, and even succeeded in ousting the plebeians from the small share of public land in their occupation.

In the year B.C. 493, the year of the first appointment of tribunes, Spurius Cassius was consul. He listened to the complaints of the plebeians, perceived their justice, and assumed the part of a champion of popular rights. He encountered great opposition, but having been elected consul a second and a third time, he at length, in B.C. 486, brought the matter to a crisis. It had always been held that the public lands occupied

by citizens belonged really to the state, and might at any time be resumed by it. Accordingly Spurius Cassius, in concert with the tribunes, demanded that these lands should be resumed and distributed afresh, so that plebeians as well as patricians might have a fair share of them. He further demanded that all the occupiers should be required to pay strictly their legal rent or tithe, and that out of these payments a fund should be formed to furnish pay in war time to the poorer citizens, who could ill afford to leave their farms untilled without some remuneration. This was the first proposal of the famous agrarian laws, of which we shall hear so much as the history of Rome proceeds. The senate was roused to indignation by these demands, which threatened the wealth and power of the patricians at their very source. But such was the force of the popular party that all resistance was overborne. The law was passed, and the patricians determined that, so far as in them lay, it should become a dead letter. At the end of his year of office, Spurius Cassius was accused, it is said, before the comitia curiata of treason. The people whom he had befriended made no effort to save him. He was condemned, and suffered the last penalty of public scourging and beheading at the hands of the consular lictors. The senate then repudiated the execution of the agrarian law, and, in order to divert public attention from the subject, engaged for several years in petty wars against the Volscians, the Æquians, and the Veientines. The noble house of the Fabii were the leaders of this reaction, and for seven successive years one of the two consuls was a member of this powerful family. The plebeians, paralysed by the loss of their champion, clamoured in vain for the promised distribution of lands. Menenius, the tribune, threatened to put his veto on the levy of troops. But the consuls betook themselves beyond the walls of the city, where the protection of the tribunes did not extend, and, summoning the citizens before them, caused them to be there enlisted, not without threats and violence. They succeeded, moreover, in sowing division among their opponents, and gained over one tribune to neutralise the veto of his colleagues. The soldiers, however, thus reluctantly compelled to enlist, had still one remedy in their hands. In the year 480 B.C. they refused to complete a victory over the Veientines, or to seize the booty which was in their power, in

U.C. 269, B.C. 485.

order to deprive Kæso Fabius, the consul, of the honour of a triumph.

Soon after this a change occurred in the policy of the great Fabian gens. From being the foremost supporters of aristocratic privilege, they wheeled round and assumed the lead of the popular party. In B.C. 479, under the command of three brothers of the Fabian house, the legions won a brilliant victory over the people of Veii and their Etruscan allies. In the following year Kæso Fabius was elected consul by the suffrages of the people, which overwhelmed the opposition of the patricians. Kæso, who had been the actual accuser of Cassius, now undertook to compel the execution of the agrarian law proposed and passed by him. But the resistance offered by the senate to this measure was so obstinate, that even Kæso Fabius, backed by the influence of the greatest family in Rome, and the whole power of the commonalty to boot, was forced to give up the contest. He determined to quit Rome with all his gens, and retire into voluntary exile. The Fabii established themselves on the banks of the Cremera, a few miles to the north of Rome, in face of the hostile Veiians, and there maintained the war of the commonwealth with their own gallant band, 306 in number, supported by 4,000 clients. In this chivalrous and unequal contest they were at last overpowered and exterminated. Of the whole Fabian race only one child survived, who had been left behind in Rome as unfit for such desperate service. U.C. 277, B.C. 477.

The Fabii were doubtless betrayed by the aristocratic party in Rome, for, at the time of their destruction, the consul Menenius stood with his army only four miles off, and made no effort to aid them. The people grieved at the slaughter of their champions, and, disgusted at the desertion of Romans by a Roman, impeached Menenius, who was found guilty and condemned (B.C. 476). They also extorted from the senate the right to cite even the consuls before the comitia tributa. This right was a powerful weapon, and was used effectually. Within twenty-seven years, seven consuls and many illustrious patricians were thus accused and condemned to exile or to death. In the year 473 B.C. the tribune Cn. Genucius exercised this right by impeaching the consuls L. Furius and C. Manlius before the assembly of the tribes, for their neglect to enforce the agrarian law. Next day the tribune was found dead in

his bed, and no doubt was entertained that he had been murdered by his patrician opponents. The plebs were stricken with terror, and the consuls hoped to profit by the confusion, to wreak their vengeance on other popular leaders. Volero Publilius was seized, and ordered to be stripped and scourged by the lictors, but, being a powerful man, he dashed them aside, and called upon the people for help. A tumult ensued, the lictors and the fasces were overthrown, and the consuls barely escaped with their lives. Two years later Publilius was chosen tribune of the people. He distinguished himself by introducing the famous 'lex Publilia,' by which it was enacted that the tribunes of the people should be elected by the comitia of the tribes instead of by the centuries. This measure became law in the year 471 B.C., but not without a struggle. In the course of it Volero, with his energetic colleague Lætorius, established the people in arms on the summit of the Tarpeian hill. The senate had no choice but to yield a reluctant consent. They had hitherto used the influence of wealth in the comitia of the centuries to favour the election of tribunes who would be subservient to the patrician order. In the assembly of the tribes wealth had no prerogative, and the votes were given, man by man, so that the power of the numerous plebeians was overwhelming. By the same law the number of the tribunes was increased from two to five.

Nevertheless the contest between the two orders continued with unabated violence and with alternate success; for each possessed weapons which the other could not parry. It was in vain that the tribune Sp. Icilius obtained the enactment of a law whereby it was made a capital offence for anyone to interrupt a tribune while he was addressing the assembly. The senate, under the guidance of the haughty Appius Claudius, answered by declaring war against the Æqui and the Volsci. The plebeians were compelled to serve under his orders. In the camp the consul was master of their persons and of their lives. He treated them with the utmost rigour of discipline, and they cursed him to his face. In the face of the enemy they refused to fight under such a leader. Appius chastised them with unsparing severity. They submitted with sullen desperation to the rods and axes of the lictors. But their day of vengeance was at hand. The campaign must come to a close at last. The consul must return to Rome; and once within the walls he

must lay down his military authority, and fall himself under the civil authority of the tribunes. In fact, no time was lost in citing him to answer for his tyranny before the tribes. U.C. 284, B.C. 470. He replied with his usual arrogance; but he knew that his fate was inevitable, and went home from the meeting to escape condemnation only by suicide.

Throughout the course of these political struggles, the state of warfare between Rome and her neighbours never ceased. Year after year in the spring the consul led forth his legions into the plains of the Campagna, to do battle against Latins or Hernicans, Æquian or Volscian foes. These wars were but marauding expeditions, which produced some plunder, no doubt, but scarcely any permanent result. As autumn drew on the Romans hastened back to reap their own harvests; for the soldiers of Rome were also her husbandmen. The winter was a period of repose and enjoyment. This constant succession of campaigns furnished many opportunities for brilliant feats of arms; and the great families exulted in the stories they could tell of the patriotic exploits of their own heroes. The legend of the Fabii has been already mentioned; those of Coriolanus and of Cincinnatus must now be noticed.

Caius Marcius Coriolanus was a proud patrician youth, descended from Ancus Marcius. He was one of the bravest of the brave. In a war against the Volscians he captured Corioli, one of their cities, and derived from it the title which he has made illustrious. Within the city he bore himself haughtily towards the people, and resented their growing power. They refused him the consulship: he retaliated in the following year, when a famine prevailed, by proposing that no corn should be distributed to the people unless they first consented to abolish the office of their tribunes. He was impeached and condemned to banishment. Then he threw himself into the arms of the Volsci, whom he had before defeated. The Volsci placed him at their head, and under his command penetrated far into the Roman territory, destroying the property of the commons, but sparing, as was observed, that of the senators. The Roman power was crippled by disunion; there was no army to send against him. The people, in an agony of terror, deputed the chiefs of the senate to meet and propitiate him. He was deaf to their entreaties. Next day they charged their priests and augurs to mediate for them in the name of the

gods of Rome. Still he was obdurate. At last there went forth from the city a procession of Roman matrons, headed by Veturia his mother and his wife Volumnia, accompanied by his little children. The mother reproached, the wife entreated, the children pleaded mutely for forgiveness. Unable to resist such an appeal, Coriolanus yielded. In bitter distress of mind he turned his back for the last time on Rome, and led the Volscians back to Antium, where he ended his days in exile. Thus did the women of Rome once more save the city, and to commemorate the event a temple was built on the place of meeting dedicated to the 'Women's Goodspeed.' The most probable date of this occurrence is B.C. 468, U.C. 286.

Such is the most famous legend of the war with the Volsci. The contest with the Æqui furnished another not less dear to the memory of the Romans. In the course of this struggle the consul Minucius, with his army, was surrounded by the enemy on Mount Algidus, and in imminent danger of destruction. Five horsemen escaped and carried the news to Rome. It was decided at once to appoint a dictator. The people with one voice called for L. Quinctius, better known as Cincinnatus from his curly locks, to lead them. The officers who were sent to inform him of his election found him ploughing his little farm clothed in nothing but a kilt. On learning the object of their visit he bade his wife to throw his toga over his shoulders, that he might receive the messengers of the commonwealth with due respect. He then accompanied them to the city, where he appointed L. Tarquitius, who was, like himself, brave though poor, to be his master of the horse. The citizens were quickly enrolled, and each man was ordered to provide himself with twelve stout stakes and food for five days. At sunset they set out, and by midnight had reached the scene of the conflict. The Æquian camp completely enclosed that of the Romans. Then Cincinnatus caused his men to surround the Æquians, and when all were at their posts a shout was raised, the stakes were quickly pitched, and the whole party set to work to dig a ditch and raise a rampart round the enemy. The Romans within, encouraged by the shout, kept the Æquians engaged in fighting all night, and when day dawned the latter found themselves ensnared between the two Roman armies. They surrendered. Cincinnatus made them all pass under the yoke ('jugum'), constructed like a doorway, with two spears

upright and one laid crosswise over them. Their leader, Gracchus Cloelius, he carried in chains to Rome; and from the Æquian camp and their city of Corbio he took a large booty, with which he enriched his troops. On his return he led his army in triumph to the Capitol, and within sixteen days of his appointment he resigned the office of dictator and returned to labour humbly on his farm. U.C. 296, B.C. 458.

Whatever degree of credence we may accord to these stories of military prowess, their existence seems to indicate how weak the power of Rome had become during the first fifty years of the republic compared to what it had been under the later kings. In fact, it could not be otherwise so long as the commonwealth was a prey to such disunion as has been described. Yet it was amid these chequered wars and these internal discords that she was forming the race of heroes whose bravery, whose resolution, and whose military obedience were to effect the conquest of the world.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DECEMVIRATE. THE SYSTEM OF ROMAN LAW.

THE leaders of the plebeian class next turned their attention to the removal of another very serious grievance. They began to aim at placing all Roman citizens, of whatever class, on a footing of equality before the law. Hitherto all knowledge of the law and of legal proceedings, and even the right to legal redress, had been an exclusive privilege of the patrician class. The commons might indeed settle disputes among themselves according to their own customs, and for that purpose might plead before the tribunals of their own plebeian magistrates, but as against the patricians, and in the highest courts of Roman law, they had no recognised standing—no acknowledged right to equal justice. They were therefore at the mercy of the consuls and other patrician magistrates, who might, and no doubt often did, treat them with arbitrary injustice. The need began to be felt for a clearly defined code of law, which should be binding with equal force upon all citizens alike, and should

be justly administered, without distinction between rich or poor, patrician or plebeian.

With this object in view, the tribune Terentilius Harsa proposed that a commission of five or ten persons should be appointed to define the arbitrary powers of the consuls. The tribes in their comitia accepted the measure, but the senate and the curies rejected it. During the ensuing ten years this proposal continued to be a bone of contention between the rival orders. The young patricians, headed by Kæso Quinctius, the son of Cincinnatus, tried to overawe the plebeians by violent brawling. When the comitia of the tribes assembled, they mingled among the crowd of voters and impeded the proceedings. At last Kæso was impeached by the tribunes, and had to flee the city for his life, leaving his father to forfeit his bail, which amounted to a fine so great that its payment reduced him to poverty.

U.C. 292, B.C. 462.

Soon after, the Capitol was stealthily seized at night by a party of outlaws headed by Appius Herdonius, a Sabine, and it is not unlikely that young Quinctius was the real instigator of this attempt. If so, he paid the penalty with his life, for the whole body of intruders was put to the sword. The struggle continued with increasing bitterness. Year by year the same tribunes were re-elected, and in B.C. 455 ten tribunes were elected. In the following year the tribune Icilius carried a measure by which the whole of the Aventine hill, which was public domain, was given up to the poorer plebeians. It was at once occupied by them, and, being a very strong position, it became the citadel of the plebeian order, and added much to their political strength. Two years later, B.C. 452, L. Sicinius Dentatus became tribune. This man was the hero of the plebeians, a soldier of extraordinary valour, covered with wounds and decorations. Under his leadership the resistance of the patricians was at length overcome, and the measure of reform so long urged by Terentilius became law.

U.C. 294, B.C. 460.

Three commissioners, all of them patricians, were at once appointed, and sent to study the systems of law in force at Athens and elsewhere among the Greeks. When their report had been received, in the month of March, B.C. 450, all the ordinary magistrates were superseded, and their offices for the time suspended, while the entire government was entrusted to

a board of ten commissioners called Decemviri, who were at the same time to prepare the new code of laws. The plebeians, perhaps wisely, acceded to the claim of the patricians, as recognised expounders of the existing laws, to occupy all the places in the commission that should revise it. It was, however, in an evil moment that they consented to waive the most precious of their privileges, the right of appeal from the decisions of the superior magistrates to the comitia of the tribes. On March 15, the decemvirs entered upon their office, exercising supreme authority day by day in turn. Their rule was mild and peaceable enough, in spite of the fact that the leading spirit among them was Appius Claudius, one of the same haughty family as his namesake mentioned above. During the year they promulgated ten tables of laws, which were laid before the comitia of the centuries and of the curies, and, being accepted by both, were engraved on bronze tables and hung up in the Comitium. At the end of twelve months the decemviri laid down their power, and fresh ones were elected. Appius, however, had been throughout his year of office sedulously courting the favour of the people; and his intrigues now led to his re-election. Half of his new colleagues were plebeians, but his strong will soon dominated all the others, and the decemvirs now assumed the character of irresponsible tyrants. No assemblies were held; the senate even was never convened; in the course of the year two more tables of laws, making twelve in all, were promulgated; they were received with strong disapprobation, and evidently bore the impress of the prejudiced mind of Appius. The year of office elapsed, but the decemvirs showed no intention of resigning their power.

The war with the Æquians and Sabines was renewed, and the patricians seized the opportunity to procure the murder of the brave Dentatus at the hands of Roman soldiers. In the city, Appius Claudius ruled with unchecked despotism, but at length he overstepped the limit of Roman endurance and brought the whole fabric of his power to the ground. U.C. 306, B.C. 448.

As Appius sat in the Forum to administer justice, he noticed a maiden of great beauty, who went daily with her nurse to a school near the Forum. The wicked tyrant determined to get possession of her. The girl was Virginia,

daughter of a distinguished plebeian named Virginius, and betrothed to Icilius, who had been tribune. Finding that her father was away in the camp, the decemvir prompted one of his clients to seize the girl in the street and lay claim to her as the offspring of his slave and therefore his property. The claim was made, and referred amid fierce popular excitement to the tribunal of Appius himself. The attitude of the people was so menacing, that he was constrained to defer judgment till next day, that the evidence of the father might be heard. Virginia's friends took care to apprise her father of the danger she was in. He reached Rome in time to appear with her next day before the judgment seat of Appius: both he and Icilius implored the people to stand by them in their need. As soon as Appius had taken his seat he ordered Virginia to be given up to the man who claimed her. Her father, foreseeing the fate in store for her, took her aside for a moment, and snatching a knife from a butcher's stall close by, stabbed her with it to the heart. Brandishing the reeking knife, he vowed vengeance on the tyrant, and then hurried to the camp.

Such a story soon roused the blood of Roman soldiers; they plucked up their standards, and were quicky camped upon the Aventine. In the city the decemvir's lictors had been overcome, and Appius himself driven ignominiously from the Forum. Two of the decemvirs, Horatius and Valerius, sympathised with the people and joined in the cry for liberty. The next step was a secession to the Mons Sacer. Preceded by the legions, the whole plebeian population marched out of the city and left the patricians in sole occupation of it. As usual, this course produced its effect. The decemvirs resigned their power, and Horatius and Valerius were sent to make terms with the plebs. The seceders returned to Rome, and occupied the Aventine and the Capitol in arms. There they elected their tribunes, among whom were Virginius, Icilius, and Duilius.

Valerius and Horatius were chosen consuls; and on their proposal it was enacted that henceforth a law passed by the people in their tribes (plebiscitum) should be binding upon the whole Roman people. The tribune Duilius also proposed and passed a law, that it should be a capital offence to leave the people without tribunes, or to create any magistrate against whom there should be no appeal. Appius Claudius and his

colleague Oppius, the two most unpopular of the decemvirs, anticipated their condemnation and took their own lives in prison. The rest were allowed to go into exile, their property being confiscated; and then a general amnesty was proclaimed. The consuls next led their armies into the field, and gained a decisive victory over the Æquians and Sabines. The senate, however, refused them the honour of a triumph, and thereupon this privilege was seized upon by the plebeian assembly, which decreed that these popular and successful leaders should ascend the Capitol in triumph. U.C. 306, B.C. 448.

The fragments which remain to us of the laws of the twelve tables are but scanty, and, such as they are, they do not favour the supposition that the plebeians gained much by the new legislation they had brought about. This remark applies with especial force to the two last tables, which contained many provisions unjust and oppressive towards the inferior class. It may, however, be well in this place to take a survey of the old system of Roman law, noticing, as we proceed, those points which were either confirmed or altered by the twelve tables.

One of the foundation stones of Roman law was the absolute authority of a father over his children; this extended so far that he might sell his son into slavery, and if at any time the son regained his liberty, he at once returned under the dominion of the father, who might, if he pleased, sell him again and again into slavery. This parental authority was in the main confirmed by the new code, but a limit was placed to the father's power by the provision that when a son had been three times sold, and had three times recovered his liberty, he became free from parental control. But at the same time that he did so, he lost his relationship to his father and could no longer inherit from him. The father had uncontrolled power to dispose of his property by will. It had indeed been customary for all wills to be read in the Comitium, where they might be confirmed or rejected; but henceforth this became a mere formality, and a citizen's right was recognised to leave all his property to one child, or even to an entire stranger, if he so willed; but as his own enjoyment of property during his lifetime had been unfettered, so he was prohibited from limiting the enjoyment of his successor by any conditions. Thus no entail could be created.

Women were at all times required by the Roman law to be under guardianship, either of a husband or of a father, brother, or other near male relation. They might inherit property, but they could not alienate it without their guardian's consent. Under the old law, if a woman lived for a year with any man, she passed under his power as a wife; but by the twelve tables she was enabled to evade complete subjection to her husband by absenting herself from him for three nights in the year. Formerly the patricians not unfrequently married plebeian wives, but the children did not inherit their father's superior rank. The twelve tables prohibited such marriages altogether.

Property.—As regards land which formed part of the public domain, no length of possession could entitle a citizen to the freehold; but as regards land which was the property of a private person, any one who could prove two years of undisturbed possession was entitled to claim it as his own, unless it had been first acquired by force or fraud. The twelve tables expressly forbade a stranger to own land at all. Possession for one year was sufficient to confer a legal right to slaves or moveable property. When land or chattels were sold, the purchaser must seize it with his hand and claim it as his own in the presence of five witnesses and of the seller, the money being weighed out and paid over at the same time. This mode of transfer was called 'mancipatio,' and was the privilege of Roman citizens only. Moveable property might also be sold before a magistrate, in which case the purchaser laid claim to it, and the seller, being questioned by the magistrate, allowed the claim to be good; the property was then adjudged to the claimant. These legal customs were confirmed by the twelve tables. The usual manner of settling disputes about the right to property was for the two litigants to appear before a judge and to stake each of them a certain sum (called 'sacramentum'); the cause was then heard and decided by the judge, and the losing party forfeited his stake to the public treasury. When the suit concerned property of large value the stake amounted to 500 asses, in less important cases only fifty asses were required. When the question to be decided was whether a person was a slave or a free man, the smaller stake only was required, and while the suit was pending the man was left at liberty and presumed to be free.

In certain cases a man might seize his adversary's property

even without a judge's warrant, in order to compel him to pay a debt. And if, after a case had been heard and adjudged in court, the loser did not pay what he owed, then his adversary was entitled to seize him, and drag him a prisoner to his own house, and there keep him in chains. The twelve tables confirmed the old harsh law of debtor and creditor, except that they restricted the amount of interest which might be legally enforced to about ten per cent.

In the case of injuries to the person, the letter of the law demanded an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, but a broken bone might be compensated by a payment of 300 asses, and smaller injuries by a sum of twenty-five asses; and it may be stated generally that this harsh law of retaliation was not strictly enforced. A thief caught in the act was scourged and handed over as a slave to the man whom he had injured. Other thieves had to make restitution of double the amount stolen. Injuries to the character were very severely punished: anyone found guilty of publicly libelling a fellow-citizen was beaten with a cudgel and publicly degraded. The beating may probably in some cases have been fatal. This law made people very careful how they criticised or satirised any powerful person.

Crimes.—The crimes of murder, arson, witchcraft, treason, and injuring a neighbour's corn by night were punished with death.

The changes introduced into the Roman constitution by the laws of the twelve tables were as follows:—

An appeal to the people was allowed from every sentence pronounced by a magistrate; and the verdict of the people was final, and overruled every previous decision. Capital punishment might only be inflicted by the people assembled in their centuries.

Privilegia, or laws aimed at particular individuals, were declared invalid.

A debtor, whose person was adjudged to his creditor in pledge ('nexus'), was to be in the eye of the law on a footing of equality with a free man.

These laws of the twelve tables were solemnly enacted by the people, and seem to have been regarded with satisfaction, as reasonably fair in spite of the distinctions between the two orders which they perpetuated.

It should be observed that at the same time that the decrees of the Comitia Tributa were made binding upon the whole Roman people, the patricians and their clients were inscribed upon the roll of the tribes. It is also worthy of remark that Valerius and Horatius were the first Roman magistrates who actually bore the title of consuls. Previous to their time the chief officers of the state were called prætors.

CHAPTER IX.

CONTINUATION OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN PATRICIANS AND PLEBEIANS. WARS WITH NEIGHBOURING NATIONS.

NOTWITHSTANDING the progress which the plebeians had made in freeing their order from the oppression of the Roman aristocracy, there still remained very substantial differences between the political condition of the two classes. This inequality was mainly supported by the exclusive right to perform the ceremonies of religion still rigidly maintained by the patricians. It was accounted a profanation for any but a patrician to approach the altars of the presiding deities of Rome. Thus the pontifices and the augurs still belonged to the higher class, and without their sanction no votes could be given, no proceedings could be valid in the popular assemblies. Moreover, the consuls and the other curule magistrates were charged with certain sacred functions, and for this reason no plebeian had as yet been admitted to fill those high offices. It was no doubt in this direction that the plebeians looked for their next step in advance. They strongly resented the sharp line of demarcation which had been drawn by the decemvirs between the two orders, when they prohibited intermarriage between them. In B.C. 445 the tribune Canuleius, in the face of strong opposition, carried a law by which this prohibition was repealed, and the full right of intermarriage between the two orders of citizens established.

An attempt made in the same year to throw open the consulship to the plebeians did not succeed; but in the year B.C. 420 it was arranged that the military authority of the consuls, the imperium, might be transferred to six officers

called military tribunes, and to these offices the plebeians were eligible. At the same time the sacred dignity of the consulship was carefully separated from this new military office, and transferred to the curule magistrates called Censors, who could only be chosen from among the patricians. During the fifty years which followed, the command of the armies was sometimes entrusted to military tribunes, and sometimes to consuls, as of old, but in practice it rarely happened that any but patricians were elected to these high commands. Afterwards the old custom of electing annually two consuls became again the invariable rule, and so continued for many centuries.

Meanwhile the annals of the city present the usual succession of contests with the neighbouring nations, varied by internal dissensions. In B.C. 439 a terrible famine prevailed: the efforts of the government to procure corn were unavailing, but a wealthy plebeian, Spurius Mælius, was more successful. He purchased large supplies of corn in Etruria, which he sold at low prices or distributed gratis. This generous conduct made him a great favourite with the people, and so alarmed were the patricians at his popularity, that they appointed the aged Cincinnatus dictator, with Servilius Ahala as master of the horse. Mælius was accused of aiming at royalty, and when he sought protection among the people from his adversaries, was brutally murdered by Ahala in the Forum. This violence led to a fresh outbreak of the people, and Ahala was obliged to flee the city. U.C. 315, B.C. 439.

During the next eight years hostilities were carried on against the city of Fidenæ, and against the Æquians, in the course of which dictators were several times appointed. In B.C. 431, a great effort was made by the Æquians and Volscians united to conquer Rome. Aulus Postumius was named dictator, and gained a crowning victory over these enemies at Mount Algidus. The severity of Roman discipline is illustrated by an incident of this campaign. During the manœuvres, the dictator's son left the post assigned to him and engaged the enemy. He returned victorious, but his inexorable father sentenced him to death for having acted contrary to his orders. The victory of Mount Algidus was followed by a truce for eight years with the Æquians and Volscians. The arms of Rome were next turned in another direction. Twelve miles north of the Tiber, on a mountain spur, protected on three sides by steep escarp-

ments, stood the Tuscan city of Veii. It was strongly fortified; it surpassed Rome in the solidity and grandeur of its buildings, and was rich with the products of industry and art. Against this powerful rival the hostility of Rome was directed, with short intervals, throughout the next thirty years, the last ten of which were consumed by a siege comparable to that of Troy.

After a desultory warfare which produced little permanent result, the siege was begun in the year B.C. 406. Year after year it continued with varying success. The position of Veii made it impossible for the assailants to blockade it completely and to reduce it by famine. The Romans, however, clung tenaciously to their purpose, and maintained the siege at all seasons of the year. This was an entirely new feature in Roman warfare, and compelled them to adopt a most important change in their military system. Up to this time the soldiers had fought without pay, and had even supplied themselves with food, returning always in the autumn season to their own homes to harvest their crops. Now, however, that they were required to remain under the standard for several years in succession, they could no longer maintain themselves. The government perceived the necessity and yielded to it. Pay was granted to the troops from the public treasury. This was the first step towards the establishment of a standing army and of a regular profession of arms. Without it the leaders of the legions could never have advanced the eagles far beyond the sight of the seven hills; but with it followed in inevitable sequence the elevation of the leaders themselves into candidates for sovereign power. The siege of Veii foreshadowed the fall of the republic.

While the siege was proceeding, some alarm was excited at Rome by an unaccountable rise of the waters of the Alban lake, which overflowed its banks. The portent was considered so grave that an embassy was sent to inquire its meaning from the oracle of the Delphian Apollo. The reply came back, that so long as the Alban lake continued to overflow Veii could not be taken. The Romans therefore set to work, and cut a tunnel through the mountain side, by which the superabundant water was drained off. They then confidently looked for the conquest of their stubborn enemy. The command of the legions was now entrusted to M. Furius Camillus as dictator. He

infused a new spirit into the siege, and seeing no prospect of storming the strong defences of the city, he drove a mine beneath them whose inner extremity opened into the shrine of Juno within the Veian fortress. Through this strange entrance Camillus, with a chosen band, gained access to the heart of the city. His men forced open the gates, and, the whole Roman army pouring in, he was soon master of the place. Little mercy was shown to the brave defenders, who were massacred or sold as slaves. The spoil was of immense value, and was divided among the Roman people. A little of it, which had been vowed by Camillus to the Pythian Apollo, was sold and exchanged for gold, which, in the form of a rich golden bowl, was duly sent to Delphi. Such a triumph as that of Camillus had never been seen before. In a gilded chariot drawn by four white horses, and arrayed in a splendour worthy of the gods themselves, he passed up the Sacred Way (*Via Sacra*) to the capital. So much glory had already inspired him with a fear lest the vengeance of the gods should fall upon him. U.C. 358, B.C. 396. Six years later his fears were realised. He was then accused of having embezzled part of the spoil of Veii, and driven into exile. As he passed the gates he invoked a malediction on the ungrateful people. This also was fulfilled, for before the year was out the Gauls had entered Rome. U.C. 364, B.C. 390.

CHAPTER X.

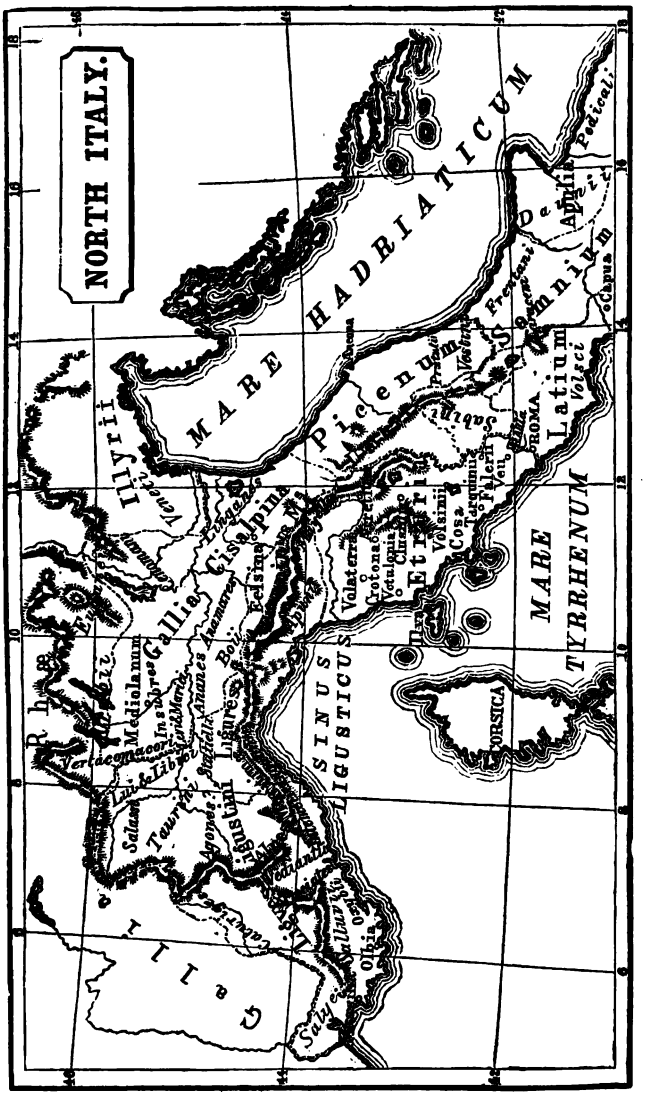
THE SACK OF ROME BY THE GAULS. CAMILLUS.

THE conquest of Veii added largely to the extent of the Roman territory, and as the inhabitants had been either put to the sword or carried into slavery at Rome, their fertile lands were available for division among the Roman citizens. The patricians, as usual, tried hard to keep so valuable an acquisition in their own hands, but at length the just claims of the plebeians prevailed, and lots of seven jugera or five acres of land were granted to any plebeians who chose to apply for them. Thus the lands of Veii were colonised, and the Ager Romanus extended far north within the ancient limits of Etruria. During the years which preceded the war with Veii a similar policy had been

pursued with the lands of other conquered towns. At Ardea, at Velitræ, at Labicum, colonies of Roman citizens had been established; and the City of the Seven Hills exercised sovereign power over a wide district which extended far out of sight of her own walls. The dominion of the rising republic was soon to be severely shaken, if not threatened with complete extinction.

The Gauls, who occupied the West of Europe from the Rhine to the Atlantic, were constantly pressed upon by hordes of barbarians advancing from east to west. This pressure caused them from time to time to seek an outlet for their teeming population into some new country. More than a century previous to the period we have now reached in the history of Rome, the Gauls had passed the defiles of the Alps and had taken possession of the rich valley of the Po. In effecting this they overcame the resistance of the Etruscans, whose dominion had extended as far as the Alps. During a century the range of the Apennines formed a dividing line between these two opposing powers. But now, under the leadership of Brennus, the Gauls passed the line of the Apennines and laid siege to Clusium. The Romans in alarm sent three envoys, all members of the Fabian gens, to check their advance by negotiation. Failing to produce any effect, the ambassadors most unwisely took part with the Etruscans in the defence of their city. The Gauls protested against such a violation of the laws of war. The Romans recognised the justice of their complaints, but were too proud to deliver up their erring citizens. It was determined to defy the Gauls, and an army was at once sent forward to meet the advancing invaders. The two hosts encountered near the small stream of the Allia, on the left bank of the Tiber, at a point only eleven miles from Rome. The Romans were entirely routed, and a remnant only of their legions driven headlong back to the city. No further resistance was attempted; the walls were abandoned, and the people, panic-stricken, fled, with such of their property as they could carry, into Etruria and the nearest cities of Latium. The flamen of Quirinus and the Vestal Virgins with the Sacred Fire retired to Cære. But the Romans of the old patrician houses, the only true citizens as they claimed to be, would not thus desert the citadel of their nation and the shrines of their gods. They quickly collected their most portable

U.C. 364, B.C. 390.


NORTH ITALY.
MARE HADRIATICUM
MARE TYRRHENUM
SINUS LIGUSTICUS
Gallia Cisalpina
Illyrii
Picenum
Latium
Etruria
Umbria
Volsci
Aequi
Sabini
Samnium
CORSICA
ROMA
Mediolanum
Ligures
Taurini
Insubres
Boii
Senones
Etrusci
Veii
Falerii
Cosa
Volsinii
Arretium
Clusium
Volaterrae
Arretini
Ariminum
Adriatic Sea
Tyrrhenian Sea
Ligurian Sea

treasures and such supplies of food as were at hand, and awaited in the Capitol the arrival of the Gauls. A story was told in after times of how the senators of Rome, seated in the Forum in their chairs of office, received the invader with dignified composure, and for a moment overawed him. It was not till one of the Gauls, who impertinently stroked the white beard of the aged Papirius, was stricken to the ground by a blow of the senator's ivory-headed staff, that the barbarians gave loose to their savage nature and ruthlessly massacred the whole august assembly.

The city was now given up to pillage and fire; but the Capitol was defended by its steep escarpments of rock, and its brave garrison withstood the first assault of the Gauls. They therefore set themselves down to reduce it by famine. Meanwhile some of the fugitives from the Allia, joined by others who had escaped from the city, rallied among the ruins of Veii. They acknowledged M. Cædicius as their captain, and they so far recovered their confidence as to aspire to raise the siege of the Capitol; but it was felt that Camillus was the only leader whom they could follow in such an enterprise with hopes of success. Camillus, however, was still an outlaw and an exile in Ardea. Then Pontius Cominius, a brave plebeian youth, swam down the Tiber, scaled the Tarpeian rock, laid before the senate the proposal of those at Veii, and made good his return, carrying with him a full pardon for Camillus and a commission to him to assume the dictatorship of the Roman state and save the republic. This bold deed very nearly caused the capture of the beleaguered fortress. The Gauls noticed the footsteps of Cominius on the ledges of the rock, and judged that where one had descended others might climb up. In the dead of night a party of them began to mount by this difficult path. The garrison were lapped in slumber. No sentinel was posted at a point deemed to be inaccessible. But happily the geese which were kept in the temple of Juno were scared by the noise of the intruders, and made a loud outcry. Manlius heard the sound and gave the alarm. He was just in time to meet the first Gaul who reached the top of the ascent, and to dash him down upon the heads of those who followed. The Capitol was saved, and for this signal service Manlius was honoured with the proud title of Capitolinus.

Camillus accepted the call of his countrymen in their hour

of need. He organised the scattered forces of the Romans into an army, and advanced to relieve Rome. But before he could arrive, the defenders of the Capitol were reduced to the last extremity of famine and compelled to make terms with Brennus.

The Gaul demanded a thousand pounds of gold. When the treasure was being weighed, complaint was made that the conquerors were using unjust weights. 'Væ victis.' 'Woe to the worsted,' replied Brennus, and so saying cast his heavy sword into the scales. As Livy tells the tale, it was at this moment that Camillus appeared upon the scene with his troops. He broke off the capitulation, drove the Gauls out of the town, defeated them near Gabii, and destroyed them to a man. This story, though well devised to save the honour of Rome, was scarcely believed by the Romans themselves. One fact, however, is certain; that a treasure, whose existence was explained by the story just related, was preserved long after in the vaults of the Capitol, and was reputed to be there kept to redeem the city in case of its being a second time conquered by the Gauls. When Julius Cæsar rifled the treasury, he found and appropriated this gold. 'There is no more fear of a Gaulish invasion,' he exclaimed; 'I have conquered Gaul.' It is probable that a great deal of this story had its origin in the poetry and the traditionary legends of the Roman people; but we cannot doubt the truth of the main fact related in it. Rome was certainly sacked and burned by a horde of Gaulish barbarians. After their departure the town was so hastily and irregularly rebuilt that the lines of the new streets often crossed the sewers of the ancient city. The mischief done by them accounts for the destruction or loss of almost every earlier monument of history and antiquity. From this date the records of Rome make a new start; her annals are complete without a break, and the memorials of her deeds multiply as the years proceed. Camillus, the second founder, as he was gratefully entitled, of the city, was in fact the original founder of historic Rome.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LICINIAN ROGATIONS. THE FIRST PLEBEIAN CONSUL.

It was indeed to the brave spirit of Camillus that the Romans now owed the regeneration of their state. In their despair they would fain have deserted the blackened ruins of their city, and have betaken themselves in a body to Veii. He persuaded them to build anew upon the old foundations, using for the purpose the materials of dismantled Veii.

From the ruins of the city were recovered the augural staff of Romulus, the twelve bronze tables of the laws, and some fragments of older legislation and of ancient treaties. But the most serious loss which Rome had suffered consisted in the dispersion and destruction of so large a portion of her citizens. Camillus again may enjoy the credit of the wise liberality with which the rights of the city were accorded to the people of Capena, of Falerii, and of other places in the Veientine territory, out of whom four new tribes were formed and added to the existing list. Such an accession of strength was greatly needed; for the ancient enemies of Rome—Volscians, Æquians, Etruscans, Latins—pressed hard upon her now that she was so enfeebled, and once again she must contend day by day in a desperate struggle for existence. Even the colonies of Rome, Velitræ and Circeii, banded themselves with the Latian towns of Prænestе and Antium against her; but this coalition was crushed under the successive dictatorships of Camillus, Cossus, and Quinctius.

We must now return to the internal state of the Roman people. As in the case of the conquest of Rome by Porsena, so now after the sack of Rome by the Gauls, distress and embarrassment fell upon the poorer classes. They had lost their all; houses, barns, implements of agriculture, had all to be replaced; and, to make matters worse, the government imposed additional taxation in order to replace the gold paid to Brennus. Debt and insolvency, the natural consequences of such distress, ensued. The slave barracks (ergastula) were filled with captives, and the people once more cried out against the harshness of the usurers. Marcus Manlius Capitolinus stood forward as the champion of the debtors. He paid the debts of 400

prisoners, thereby impoverishing his own estate. The patricians, alarmed at his growing popularity, pretended that he was aiming at royal power. They appointed Cossus dictator, and by his orders Manlius was thrown from the very Tarpeian rock on whose summit his valour had once saved Rome. His house on the Capitol was razed, and the Manlian gens resolved that none of them should ever take the name of Marcus. The plebeians, deprived of their champion, whom they had deserted in his need, fell into still deeper misery. In B.C. 377, C. Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius were created tribunes of the people. They were re-elected for ten successive years, and their courage and perseverance gained a victory for the popular cause which marks an epoch in Roman history. U.C. 369, B.C. 385.

The Licinian rogations, as they are commonly called, were three in number:—

1. That interest should be remitted on all existing debts; the capital alone to be repaid within three years.

2. That no citizen should be permitted to occupy more than 500 jugera, about 320 acres, of public land, nor to graze more than a limited number of cattle upon the common pastures; also that payment of the annual tithe or rent to the state treasury should be rigidly enforced, and that small lots of land, to the extent of seven jugera or five acres, should be assigned to all poor citizens.

3. That the office of consular tribunes should be abolished; that two consuls should be annually elected as of old, and that one of the two should always be a plebeian.

The first of these proposals was intended to alleviate the widespread distress of the poorer classes.

The second was meant to guard against the recurrence of such a state of general poverty and debt by largely increasing the number of small freeholders.

These were points which had been urged before, and perhaps from time to time conceded, and the same might occur again with little actual result.

But the third proposal threatened the patricians with the loss of their most valued privilege. They therefore did all in their power to hinder it from becoming law. For some time they succeeded in sowing discord among the tribunes of the people; when this manœuvre failed, and the reforms were

unanimously demanded by the tribunes, they had recourse to the old remedy of a dictatorship. But even the age and services of the venerable Camillus failed to impose submission on the people. He retired from the contest. The three rogations were passed into law by the comitia of the tribes, the senate giving a reluctant consent to them. The centuries then elected L. Sextius for their plebeian consul, and the curies retaliated by refusing to grant him the Imperium, which could not be conferred without a religious ceremony. Civil war was on the point of breaking out, when the aged Camillus interposed as peace-maker and persuaded the senate and the curies to accept what was inevitable. The election of Sextius was confirmed, and Camillus, having saved the state a third time, closed a long era of civil discord by the dedication of a temple to Concord.

U.C. 387, B.C. 367.

As some compensation to the patrician party, the chief judicial power was now separated from the consulship, and the new office of prætor created and reserved to them. The title indeed was not a new one, as for many years it had been used to designate the chief magistrates of the republic until the title of consul came into vogue. But the office, as distinct from the consulship, was new. The prætor henceforth was to hold supreme authority in the city whenever both the consuls should be absent on military service. He was to declare the law and preside at the tribunals. In token of his dignity he was to be attended by six lictors. At a later period this magistracy was doubled; the prætor Urbanus being charged with the administration of the law as between citizen and citizen, the prætor Peregrinus undertaking the settlement of all causes in which persons of foreign origin were concerned. The first prætor was Spurius Camillus, and his name seems to express the amalgamation which was now taking place between the patricians and the plebeians. Camillus, the hero of the Furian house, though a genuine patrician, was represented as the author of the reconciliation between the two orders, while the prænomen of Spurius seems to be always assigned by history or legend to a champion of the plebeians. Such were Spurius Cassius, Spurius Mælius, and Spurius Metilius, all alike noble sufferers in the cause of plebeian independence, and such perhaps, under happier circumstances, was the first of the Roman prætors, Spurius Camillus.

U.C. 388, B.C. 366.

A further concession was made to the patricians by the creation of the office of curule ædiles. The plebeian ædiles had been two in number, and were, like the tribunes, inviolable in their persons. Two more were now added, who were to be always patricians. Their duty was to preside over the celebration of the public games. They enjoyed the dignity of a curule chair in the senate; they were privileged to wear the toga prætexta, with its broad purple border, and to display in their halls the images of their illustrious ancestors. After the first election this office was thrown open to the plebeians, and became the first step in their advancement to the senate and the highest offices of the state. On the occasion of their first appointment a fourth tribe, to include the plebeians, was added to the three old ones of Ramnenses, Tatienses, and Luceres. Thus at length the long-sustained struggle came to an end, and the commons of Rome were admitted to full citizenship side by side with her old nobility.

The following year, B.C. 365, witnessed the death of Camillus, the great dictator, the saviour of the state, the greatest of all the heroes of Roman story till we come to Julius Cæsar. He fell a victim to the pestilence which in that year visited the city for the sixth time since the Regifugium. Rome was then, as now, an unhealthy place at the best of times, but the Romans noted with superstitious anxiety the occurrence of epidemic diseases, and such calamities were often commemorated by the dedication of a shrine to Apollo, Febris, or Mephitis. Sometimes the whole consistory of gods was to be propitiated by a lectisternium, when the images were taken from their pedestals, borne in procession through the city, and laid upon couches in the Capitol before tables loaded with sacrificial offerings. The pestilence of the year 365 deserves to be noted, as, by the advice of the priests, stage plays were now for the first time introduced into Rome from Etruria. To about the same date must be assigned the romantic story of Mettus Curtius. A deep chasm had opened in the middle of the Forum, and such a portent inspired general fear of some impending calamity. What should be done to appease the wrath of the gods? It was announced that the chasm would never close until it had received the most precious thing in Rome. Gold and jewels were in vain cast in; then Mettus Curtius came forth fully armed and mounted on his war-horse.

'Rome,' said he, 'holds nothing of greater value than arms and valour.' So saying, he spurred his horse, and, devoting himself to his country and to the gods, plunged out of sight into the gulf. With this offering the gods were satisfied and the chasm closed up.

Chronological Table showing the gradual advance of the Plebeians to political equality with the Patricians.

B.C.		U.C.
494.	First secession to the Mons Sacer. First tribunes of the plebs appointed, with power to veto a law; their persons to be inviolable.	260
486.	Agrarian law of Spurius Cassius	268
471	Publilian law; tribunes to be elected by Comitia Tributa .	283
454.	Icilian law; Aventine hill assigned in lots to the plebeians	300
452.	Terentilian law; commission appointed to collect information about the laws of Greece.	302
449.	Laws of the twelve tables published. Usury placed under restriction. Every capital sentence to be subject to an appeal to the people in Comitia Centuriata.	305
448.	Valerian law; Plebiscita made binding on the whole Roman people. The honours of a triumph first decreed by the people.	306
445.	Canuleian law gives the right of intermarriage between the rival orders.	309
423.	Consular tribunes substituted for consuls; plebeians to be eligible.	334
367.	Licinian rogations passed. Agrarian laws re-enacted. One consul to be a plebeian.	387
356.	Marcius Rutilus, first plebeian dictator	398
351.	Marcius Rutilus, first plebeian censor	403

CHAPTER XII.

GALLIC WARS. FIRST SAMNITE WAR. THE LATIN WAR. B.C. 365–325.

We must now pass lightly over a period of forty years, during which the forces of Rome were engaged in a continual succession of struggles with foreign enemies. These short campaigns abound with episodes illustrating the valour of individual Romans. No great struggle between the two orders of citizens belongs to this period, but several steps were made in advance by which the remaining distinctions between them were still further obliterated. Thus in the year B.C. 356 a

plebeian, C. Marcius Rutilus, for the first time held the high office of dictator. He gained a victory over the Etruscans, and when the curies refused to grant him a triumph, the tribes in their comitia decreed him that honour. Five years later, B.C. 351, the same Marcius attained to the august magistracy of the censorship, hitherto strictly confined to the patricians. In B.C. 337 the office of prætor was in like manner filled by a plebeian, and thus one by one all the highest dignities of the state became the common appanage of either order.

Between the years 365 and 342 a dictator was created no less than fourteen times. Six of these appointments were made for the defence of the city against foreign enemies; the remainder were generally for the holding of elections in times of public excitement. Three of these dictators were appointed in B.C. 360, 359, and 357 to make head against the Gauls; one repulsed the Hernicans in 361, another the Etruscans in 355, and a third the Auruncans in 344.

The Gauls, after their first retreat from Rome, did not fail to return and renew their attacks upon the republic. They had indeed penetrated far beyond the Roman territory into Campania and even Apulia. But in these forays they gained no firm hold on the countries which they invaded. Their furious assaults were terrible to unstable troops, but the constancy of the Romans seldom failed to baffle and repel them. Their reputed size and strength, together with the impression made by their sacking of the city, caused the Romans to regard them with fear and anxiety, and the appearance of the Gauls in the neighbourhood was the signal, not so much for a war as for a 'Gallic tumult,' when every citizen was called to arms, and the whole nation rushed in a mass to the rescue. On one occasion the Gauls were facing a Roman army on the Anio, when a gigantic barbarian advanced upon the bridge and offered to fight any Roman champion. Manlius, by permission of his general, accepted the challenge, and, in spite of his small stature, brought his huge adversary to the ground. He received the surname of 'Torquatus,' from the gold chain or 'torque' which he stripped from the dead Gaul's neck. A similar encounter took place in the extreme south of Latium, in which M. Valerius was aided by a crow, which settled on his helmet and struck out fiercely at his enemy with beak and claws and wings. From this incident he

gained the surname of 'Corvus.' For some time the Gauls maintained themselves among the Alban hills, from whence, on one occasion, they advanced to the very foot of the Colline gate. Their presence there broke up the confederation of Latin towns which Rome had long held in alliance, and also encouraged the Hernici, the Aurunci, the Etruscans of Cære and Tarquinii, and the Volscians of Privernum, all ancient foes of the republic, to renew their attacks upon her. From these continual contests Rome emerged triumphant, but the difficulty experienced by her in subduing these petty tribes seems to point to some internal weakness in her own state. We know that the Roman soldiery were pre-eminent for their bravery and discipline, and we can only attribute the long delay in establishing the supremacy of the republic to the civil dissensions which were still rife within the walls.

The time had now arrived when the power of Rome was to assert itself beyond the bounds of Latium, and new enemies in consequence were to be encountered. The highlands of Central and Southern Italy were at this time occupied by the great Sabellian race, of which an offshoot under the name of Sabines had largely contributed to form the Roman people itself. Further to the south the same race were known by the kindred name of Samnites. A body of these mountaineers had, some time before, descended from the fastnesses of the Apennines, seized upon the fertile plains of Campania, and established themselves as a class of patrician rulers in the luxurious city of Capua. They were soon estranged from their kinsmen, who still dwelt among the hills, and a quarrel breaking out between the Samnites and the Capuans, the latter appealed to Rome for aid.

U.C. 411, B.C. 343.

Now the Romans had for nine years past been in close alliance with the Samnites, and had no business to give aid or countenance to their enemies. It was pretended indeed that the people of Capua formally surrendered themselves to the dominion of Rome, and on this plea the republic tried to justify her treachery to the Samnite nation. In any case war was declared against the Samnites, and after a successful campaign of one year's duration, the mountaineers were driven back to their hill forts, and a Roman army was quartered for the winter in Capua.

The rich plain of Campania lay at the mercy of Rome. It is

probable that the prospect of valuable lands to be divided among the conquerors was the real cause of the troubles which now arose both within and without the Roman state. During the winter a mutiny broke out in the army at Capua: the discontented soldiers marched in a body to Bovillæ, on the road to Rome. Valerius Corvus, appointed dictator, led an army against them; but his levies, instead of fighting, fraternised with the mutineers.

The government were forced to submit to the people in arms. A series of laws were passed for the relief of debtors, for the redress of military grievances, for the regulation of consular elections: this last law, proposed by the tribune Genucius, enacted that both consuls might henceforth be plebeians. It is clear that the old aristocracy saw that the time was now come when further resistance to the demands of the plebeians would be both useless and unreasonable. And this is confirmed by the fact that two years later, B.C. 339, under the dictatorship of Publilius Philo, himself a plebeian, a law was passed by which the consent of the senate was declared unnecessary to the establishment of laws passed by the people in the comitia of the centuries; the plebiscita were henceforth to have the force of law, whether or no they were sanctioned by the senate. It must not be supposed that the influence of the senate was destroyed by this measure. In practice this first Publilian law was very rarely put in force, but in case of a deadlock between the two assemblies it became a constitutional principle that the senate must give way. The second and third of the Publilian laws ordained that one of the censors must be a plebeian, and threw open the prætorship also to the lower class. Publilius was himself the first plebeian prætor, B.C. 337.

U.C. 413, B.C. 341.

The success of the Roman mutineers in obtaining all that they demanded from their rulers produced a strong effect upon the Latin auxiliaries, not Roman citizens, who had fought by their side throughout the Samnite war. They also had claims and grievances to urge, and they now began to hope that their demands might be listened to in the same spirit of concession. In this they were disappointed. The strife between patricians and plebeians was at length laid to rest. A new and very similar struggle was on the point of beginning between the citizens of a united Rome and the people of Latium, who ac-

knowledged her primacy among their cities and had fought cheerfully under her banners as allies and auxiliaries. These people now sent a deputation to Rome to propose that they should be incorporated on a footing of equality in the Roman state and enrolled among her citizens. They also demanded that one of the consuls and one-half of the senate should be chosen from among the Latins. The Romans perceived that their allies wanted to secure a share in the rich lands and booty expected from the conquest of Campania. They were greedily determined to keep these advantages to themselves. The proposals of the Latins were scornfully rejected and their ambassadors hardly escaped outrage (B.C. 340–338). War was now inevitable. The Latins came of the same stock as the Romans; the same brave spirit animated them; and they determined to strike a blow for their independence. They marched from the fortified cities of Præneste, Tibur, Tusculum, Aricia, and Velitræ: they were joined by the Volscians of Antium and Privernum; and they roused the Campanians to cast in their lot with them and so defend their threatened territory. The Romans on their side made an alliance with the Samnites, whom they had just defeated, and marching through their mountain country faced the Latian legions in Campania. The two consuls who led their army were T. Manlius Torquatus and P. Decius Mus, both of them conspicuous examples of the heroic severity and patriotism of the ancient Romans. In the beginning of the campaign orders were given that no one should engage the enemy except by express command of his superior officer. Young Manlius, the son of the consul, being leader of a troop of horse, was challenged to single combat by the Tusculan Mettius. Unable to bear the provocation, he fought and slew his enemy, and carried the arms of the Tusculan to his father. The consul without hesitation condemned the noble youth to death for breach of discipline. He fell beneath the lictor's axe amid the lamentations of his young comrades, to whom the consul Manlius was ever after an object of aversion. The decisive battle of the campaign was fought under Mount Vesuvius, and in the course of it the plebeian consul, Decius Mus, sacrificed himself in his country's cause. The Roman consuls had been warned in a dream that in the impending combat the army was doomed to perish on one side, the general on the other. They agreed that whichever of them

seemed to be losing ground should solemnly devote himself to death. It fell to the lot of Decius to fulfil this vow. He repeated after the chief pontiff the solemn form of devotion, and then rushed single-handed into the serried ranks of the enemy, and was afterwards found amid heaps of slain who had fallen beneath his sword. The victory, though stubbornly contested, remained with the Romans. The Latins rallied once more at Trifanum, but were there easily defeated. They then betook themselves to their fenced cities, and the remainder of the war consisted in a series of sieges, in which the Romans reduced the strong places of Latium one by one. At Antium they captured the enemy's ships, which had long been accustomed to prey upon Roman commerce. The brazen beaks of these ships were cut off and fixed to the orator's platform in the Forum, which thence acquired the name of the Rostra. Thus the Latin confederation fell completely under the dominion of Rome; but the conquered were treated with moderation. Tibur and Prænestè were allowed to retain their own laws and magistrates: other cities were occupied by Roman garrisons under the name of colonies: others retained their own lands and usages, but were placed under the control of a Roman prefect. For the most part the Latin population were admitted to a kind of inferior citizenship, with rights of commerce and intermarriage, but without the suffrage. This franchise came to be known as the 'Latium' or 'jus Latii,' and was in later times extended to many other conquered countries. By their success in the Latin war the Romans gained a large accession to their public domain and to their state revenues, for the subject Latins were at once required to contribute their share of taxation to the Roman treasury. Two new tribes were formed out of portions of the conquered territory; and a large population became liable to serve in the legions whenever required by the consul so to do. Individual Romans quickly became owners of large estates throughout the newly acquired territory; and the frontier of the Ager Romanus was pushed as far south as Capua and the river Volturnus.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SECOND SAMNITE WAR.

THE history of Rome comes now for the first time into direct contact with that of Greece. For several centuries the coasts of Sicily and Southern Italy had been occupied by numerous Greek settlements which rivalled, if indeed they did not outshine, the cities of their mother country in wealth and magnificence. Syracuse, Messana, Tarentum, Pæstum, Neapolis, Cumæ, may be mentioned as some of the most conspicuous among them. These alien colonies subjugated and enslaved the native inhabitants of the sea-coast districts, but between them and the Lucanian and Bruttian tribes, who still maintained their independence in the mountainous interior of Calabria, a state of chronic warfare existed. With all their artistic culture and acuteness of intellect, the Greeks were wanting in the strong political common sense which is necessary to the formation of a powerful and united state. Their disunion had already much enfeebled them, and the native races were proportionately encouraged in their attacks upon them.

At this very time Alexander the Great was preparing to lead his Macedonian phalanxes to the conquest of the East; and his uncle, Alexander, king of Epirus, was not indisposed to pursue a similar enterprise towards the West (B.C. 332). The Tarentines invited him to aid them against their Italian neighbours, and he responded to the call. Landing with his army at Tarentum he overran the south of Italy, and won many victories against the Lucanians, the Bruttians, and the Samnites. The Romans were not sorry to see so powerful an enemy pressing upon the Samnites, and having no further need of their aid against the Latins, they allied themselves with Alexander, but the latter soon after fell by the hand of an assassin, and his ambitious projects were frustrated. The Samnites were by this time aware that unless they were content to see the whole of Campania in Roman occupation they must make a stand against the advance of the republic. The Greek city of Palæpolis, which adjoined Neapolis (Naples), was in a state of civil discord: the Romans sided with the party of nobles; the

Samnites threw a garrison into the town to aid the popular party. Thus the gauntlet was thrown down; and the second Samnite war, which lasted 22 years, from B.C. 326 to B.C. 304, began. Publilius Philo, as consul, laid siege to Palæpolis, which after a long defence submitted. This siege was the occasion of a fresh innovation in the Roman system of government. The consul was detained before Palæpolis beyond the period assigned to his magistracy; and by a recent enactment it was forbidden to re-elect him during the next ten years. The services of Philo could not be dispensed with, and so the difficulty was overcome by appointing him pro-consul. Such was the origin of the office which at a later period gave leaders to the Roman armies quartered in distant provinces or engaged in conquests of many years' duration. U.C. 428, B.C. 326.

While the pro-consul stayed to push the siege of Palæpolis, two consular armies advanced into the Samnite territory. Roman diplomacy had not been idle, and the alliance of the Lucanians and Apulians to the south, of the Marsians and Peligmians to the north of Samnium had been secured. Thus the enemy was isolated and surrounded; but these brave mountaineers fought gallantly for their homes and their pasture lands. They contested every inch of ground. The struggle lasted with varying success year after year, and conducted as it was, sometimes in open plains, sometimes in mountain passes, sometimes in pitched battles, more often in assaults upon fortified places, in ambuscades and surprises, it continued to train the Roman legionary to the skilful use of his weapons and the highest power of endurance. Nor less did it serve as a school of tactics for the leaders in these varied services. In the course of it we meet once more with a now familiar story, illustrating the severity of Roman discipline. In B.C. 324, Papirius Cursor the dictator, during a short absence from the camp, left strict injunctions with his master of the horse, Fabius Rullianus, not to engage the enemy. Fabius, however, seized a favourable opportunity, fought, and won a great victory. Papirius, on his return, threatened to execute the successful general for his breach of orders. The culprit escaped to Rome and appealed for protection to the people, but no power existed, not even that of the tribunes, which could bar the

dictator's right to punish him. Papirius insisted on the necessity of maintaining discipline, but at last yielded to the prayers of the senate and the people, and granted Fabius his life. In this same year, B.C. 324, Alexander the Great reposed at Babylon after completing the conquest of the Persian monarchy. For three years longer the war continued without any incident of importance, but in 321 a great success fell to the Samnites. Their leader, Pontius of Telesia, was enabled to entice the two consuls with four legions into a defile at Caudium, where they were compelled to surrender unconditionally. The Samnite general consulted his aged father as to how he should dispose of his captives. The old man counselled two courses, either to put the whole of them to death, or else to set them all at liberty without conditions, and after such an act of generosity to count on Roman gratitude for a lasting peace. Pontius preferred a middle course; he insisted upon humiliating his conquered foes; and he induced the consuls to promise on behalf of Rome that the old alliance with Samnium should be renewed and that the Roman conquests and colonies on Samnite ground, including Fregellæ and Cales, should be given up. To this the consuls, Postumius and Veturius, in their extremity consented and bound themselves by an oath. They then, together with two quæstors, two tribunes of the people, twelve military tribunes, 12,000 foot soldiers and 600 horsemen, submitted to pass man by man under the yoke: two spears set upright with a third across them. The 600 knights were retained as hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty.

On the return of the consuls with their army to Rome, the city was filled with dismay and indignation. Such a disgrace to the Roman arms was felt to be intolerable. The people and the senate refused to ratify the treaty, and the unhappy Postumius, who had himself concluded it, now eagerly counselled its rejection. He and his colleague dared not resume the insignia of their office; and after two abortive attempts to create a dictator, the two noblest citizens, Papirius Cursor and Publilius Philo, were appointed to replace them in the consulship. Postumius, with all the officers who had taken the oath, was now sent back to Caudium and handed over in fetters to the Samnite chief. As the fecial delivered him to Pontius, Postumius exclaimed, 'I am now no longer a Roman but a

Samnite;' then turning round he struck the sacred person of the herald and called upon the Romans to avenge the insult which they might reckon as a pretext for a righteous war. By such a flimsy pretence did the Romans try to cloak the gross breach of faith of which they had been guilty. They justly incurred the rebuke which Pontius bestowed upon them, while he contemptuously released the whole of the prisoners, and refused all compensation for the violated treaty. The Roman annalists related stories enough to show that the disaster of the Caudine Forks was retrieved by the valour of Roman arms. The very soldiers who were there passed under the yoke are said to have defeated the Samnites in Apulia, to have discharged Pontius himself with 7,000 of his troops under the yoke, to have released the 600 hostages by force of arms, and to have recovered by the capture of Luceria all the arms and trophies surrendered at Caudium. So exact a retribution bears all the marks of being invented.

On the other hand, it appears that soon after their success at Caudium the Samnites conquered the Roman colony of Fregellæ on the Liris, and also the Apulian town of Luceria, which was in alliance with Rome, and the republic had enough to do to maintain its communications with Campania and its hold upon the intervening country. For two years, from B.C. 318–316, hostilities were suspended, and the Romans took advantage of the truce to abolish the local government of Capua and to establish a prefect of their own as ruler there. The war was again renewed with many changes of fortune. Great efforts were made to tempt the subject races into a revolt against Rome. The Latins, however, stood firm; the Aurunci wavered and drew down upon themselves so severe a punishment, that their name henceforth disappears from history. In Capua a conspiracy was set on foot, but was put down with a high hand, and the leaders of it threw themselves on their own swords. The dictator Fabius suffered a notable defeat at the pass of Lautulæ in Campania, but this disaster was balanced by a great victory near Caudium, which cost the defeated Samnites 30,000 lives. The scale began to turn once more in favour of the Romans; and the Samnites, conscious of an increasing pressure upon them, were obliged to content themselves with the central region of the Apennines,

U.C. 440, B.C. 314.

and to withdraw from all attempts to maintain their ascendency over the regions bordering on the coast. The Romans now for the first time began to develop their strength at sea, and we hear of a Roman fleet commanded by two maritime prefects.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONQUEST OF SAMNIUM. ROMAN SUCCESSES IN ETRURIA AND IN SOUTHERN ITALY.

We have now reached the middle period of the struggle between Rome and Samnium, and it would seem that the success of the republic and the spread of her dominion over a large extent of subject territory began to excite alarm among her more northern neighbours. The pride of the Etruscans was touched to the quick, and the Gauls, who still hovered on the ridge of the Apennines, became aware that unless these new conquerors were checked, their own fields of plunder would be very closely limited.

For forty years peace had been maintained between Rome and Etruria, but in the year 311 B.C. a combination of Tuscan cities attacked the Roman outpost of Sutrium. The war which follows is described by Livy as a series of exploits and triumphs, in which victory always favoured the arms of Rome. The names of the Roman heroes are some of them already familiar to us. A Fabius, a Papirius, a Valerius, again and again mount the Capitol with the white robe and laurel chaplet; but to these are now added the representatives of other noble houses —the Junii, the Fulvii, the Curii, the Sempronii. The chief source from which Livy drew the materials for his history of this war, which is by no means to be implicitly trusted, seems to have been the family annals of the Fabian house; and, as in the case of former Etruscan wars, so in this, a Fabius occupies the most conspicuous place.

Fabius Maximus Rullianus, after relieving Sutrium, ventured to lead his army through the gloomy defiles of the

Ciminian forest into the heart of the richest district of Etruria. The senate, terrified by his rashness, sent to forbid so dangerous an adventure. But before the message reached him he had already penetrated the forest, and won a great victory over the enemy. By the shores of the Vadimonian lake he gained another triumph (B.C. 309), which compelled the powerful cities of Cortona, Perusia, and Arretium to sue for peace and accept an alliance with Rome.

During this campaign of the consul Fabius in Etruria, his colleague Marcius was worsted by the Samnites, and his whole army was threatened with a disaster like that of the Caudine Forks. The senate determined to appoint Papirius Cursor dictator. No one, however, except a consul could lawfully nominate a dictator. Marcius was beleaguered by the enemy, and Fabius was called upon to exercise his power. Unfortunately Papirius, on whom he was thus invited to confer an authority superior to his own, was the very man who, as dictator on a former occasion, had so implacably tried to take his life. Fabius might well shrink from again placing himself by his own act within the power of his ancient enemy. But he nobly repressed all personal considerations, and complied with the request of the senate. Papirius rescued the army of Marcius from its danger, and celebrated a splendid triumph over the Samnites. Fabius was rewarded in like manner for his victorious campaign in Etruria.

The Samnite war was still carried on with ferocity and with varying success on either side, till at length, after twenty-two years of warfare, peace was made B.C. 302, and the second Samnite war came to an end.

It will be well to take this opportunity to glance at the internal history of the Roman republic. In the year 312 B.C. the name of Appius Claudius once more arrests our attention. A descendant of the notorious decemvir, he was in that year appointed to the consorship, and signalised his tenure of the office in more than one way. It was his duty to revise the lists both of the citizens and of the senators. In doing this he disregarded old traditions, and admitted unusual numbers of alien residents and of freedmen and their descendants to the full privileges of Roman citizens. In filling the vacancies in the senate he pursued a similar policy, and elevated many

persons of low birth, and even sons of freedmen, to the rank of senators. It was also his duty as censor to superintend the execution of works of public utility, and in this department he manifested no less energy. He spent vast sums and employed thousands of workmen on the construction of an aqueduct, and of the great Appian road, which led past Aricia to the Liris and Campania. This was the first of the great lines of communication which in later times extended from Rome to the extremities of Europe: and its originator deserves to have his name commemorated in connection with so useful a work. The innovations of Appius were most distasteful to the patricians, but were hailed with delight by the common people; and when the time came for him to resign his office, he declined to do so, trusting, perhaps, to his popularity, and determined, no doubt, to carry out the great works which he had begun. An attempt was made to impeach him, but it failed; and the nobles declared that he was struck with blindness and his whole gens exterminated soon after for an act of impiety. This story was perpetuated in the name by which he is known in history—Appius Claudius 'Cæcus. In B.C. 304, Fabius Maximus became censor, and he insisted that the new citizens admitted by Claudius should all be enrolled among the four urban tribes, a measure which greatly restricted the influence of this lowest class of voters in the comitia.

After the retirement of Appius from the censorship, his clerk, Cn. Flavius, who was a freedman's son, was elected a curule ædile. In his former post he had become familiar with the forms of Roman law, the knowledge of which had been always jealously guarded by the old patrician houses as their own special craft and mystery. These forms Flavius now published to the world, together with a legal calendar, and in so doing he struck one more blow at the fast waning privileges of the old aristocracy.

In B.C. 300, the tribune Ogulnius carried a measure by which the pontifical and augural offices were thrown open to plebeian candidates; and thus the control of the national religion, as well as the technical knowledge of the law, was surrendered to the whole body of citizens, and no longer confined to a particular class. Notwithstanding these numerous concessions to the popular party, the power of the patriciate died hard, and the embers of the long conflict continued to

smoulder. In B.C. 287, after the conclusion of the third Samnite war, we hear once more of the lower class being oppressed by the burden of debt, of disputes about an agrarian law, and even of a secession of the commons to the Janiculum. Most likely the quarrel in this case referred to the division of the conquered lands in Campania. It was composed by Hortensius, who was appointed dictator for the purpose; and, as usual, it resulted in a complete victory for the commons. The Hortensian law established the government of Rome on a thoroughly democratic footing. Nothing now remained to the comitia of the centuries but the election of the consuls, prætors, and censors. All the other magistrates were elected by the comitia of the tribes, where birth and wealth had no privilege and only heads were counted. The entire legislative power, and even the decision of such questions as peace or war, fell into the hands of the democratic assembly. U.C. 467. B.C. 287.

To return to the external history. In B.C. 299 the third Samnite war broke out, and it continued down to B.C. 290. We now find the Samnites allied with the Gauls and the Etruscans against Rome, and the legions of the republic have to march to the north, to the south, and to the east, in quest of these ubiquitous enemies. The Roman annals report another long series of martial exploits, victories, and triumphs. It will suffice to specify one great battle, that of Sentinum, in which, almost for the first time, the Romans inflicted a severe defeat on the Gauls in the open field. Q. Fabius Maximus was again the leader of the Romans; but the chief honour of the day was due to his plebeian colleague, Decius Mus, who, emulating the self-devotion of his father in the battle of Vesuvius, gallantly plunged into the ranks of the enemy, and retrieved the fortune of the day by his noble sacrifice. Livy's account of this battle is full of picturesque details, to which, however, we cannot in general give much credit. In particular, his mention of the Gauls using scythed chariots is suspicious. On no other occasion do we hear of these machines as being used by the Gauls of Italy, and it seems far more probable that Livy has borrowed them from Cæsar's authentic account of the battles with the Belgian Gauls on the Rhine and in Britain, in which they undoubtedly played a conspicuous part. Another incident which throws suspicion on the accuracy of Livy's narrative is the fact that U.C. 459. B.C. 295.

the tomb of one of his heroes, L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, still exists, and the inscription on it, which is well preserved, makes no mention of those exploits on which Livy lays the greatest stress, while it records others which are lightly, if at all, referred to by the historian.

The year B.C. 290 marks the close of the long conflict with Samnium. After a last crushing defeat, the gallant Samnite chief, Pontius Telesinus, was led captive to Rome, and cruelly put to death in revenge for the disgrace he had inflicted on the legions so long before at the Caudine Forks.

Latium and Campania, the country of the Sabines and of the Samnites, were all now fully subjected to the dominion of Rome. But northward the Etruscans were still hostile, and the Gauls soon recovered their courage after the defeat of Sentinum. To the south the Greek population of the coasts were leagued with the native Lucanians and Bruttians and the survivors of the Samnite people against the conquering city. Tarentum stood at the head of this loose array, which was too feeble to cause any disquietude at Rome. On the border of the Apennines the case was different. Arretium, by its fidelity to Rome, drew on itself the attacks of other Etruscan forces, aided by the restless Gauls. The Senones too, the same Gaulish tribe which had sacked Rome a century before, now crossed the Apennines in force. The prætor Metellus, who opposed them, was left dead upon the field, with seven tribunes and 13,000 legionaries. Fresh efforts had to be made. The consul Dolabella, advancing through Picenum, attacked the Gauls in the rear, and ravaged their settlements; while his colleague confronted their army, and defeated them in a great battle on the shores of the same Vadimonian lake which had witnessed a former triumph of Roman valour. The Gauls now made terms, and the lingering hostility of the Etruscans was crushed by Coruncanius in the concluding victory at Vulsinii.

U.C. 469, B.C. 285.

Meanwhile the war progressed in the south. The Greek city of Thurium implored the succour of the republic against the banditti of Lucania. Not without difficulty, Fabricius succeeded in raising the siege, and a Roman garrison was left in charge of the city. The booty acquired in this campaign was enormous. Not only the treasury, but the individual soldiers were enriched, and a fatal thirst for plunder was gene-

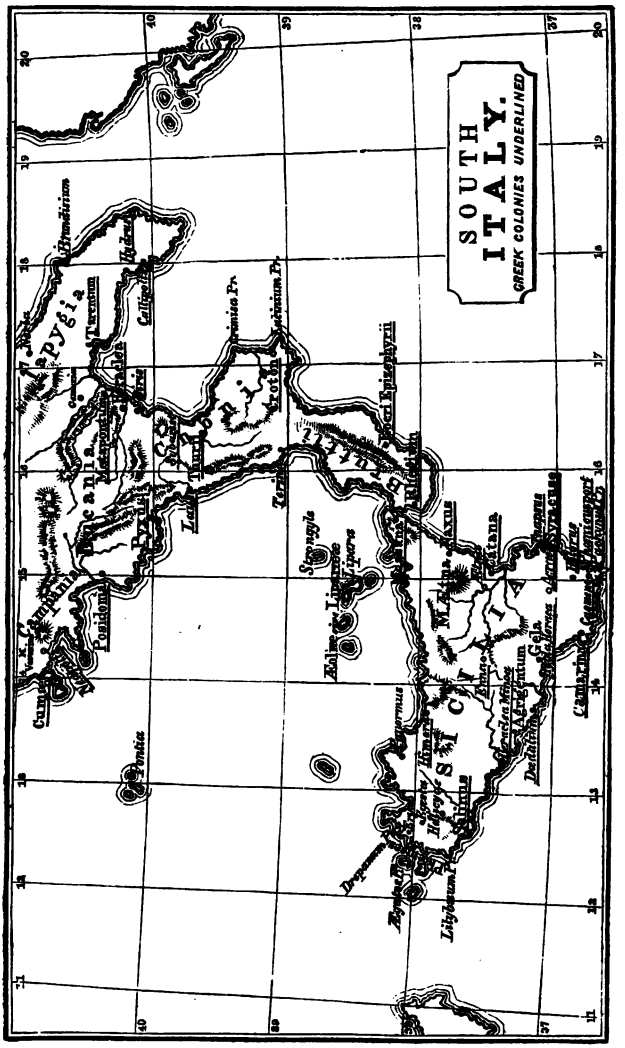
rated which soon turned the armies of Rome into an organised instrument of spoliation. The rich cities of Magna Græcia became alarmed, and Tarentum, the wealthiest, the most luxurious, and unfortunately the least warlike of them all, determined to stand on her defence, or rather to trust her defence to foreign auxiliaries.

CHAPTER XV.

THE WAR WITH PYRRHUS, B.C. 281–275.

THE champion, under whose protection the Tarentines dared to brave the hostility of Rome, was Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, a cousin of Alexander the Great, and nephew to Alexander the Epirote, whose descent upon Italy thirty years before has been already mentioned. Inspired by his cousin's triumphant career in the East, he doubtless dreamed of subduing a similar empire in the West. Beyond the Greek settlements of Tarentum and Crotona in Italy, lay the fertile plains of Campania and Latium, and the cities of Etruria, the Egypt of the West, renowned for their wealth and their artistic treasures. Beyond Sicily lay the dominion of Carthage, whose commercial activity enabled her to rival the splendour of Tyre. Here were prizes enough to tempt a bold adventurer; but Rome, little known and less heeded by the Greeks, had to be reckoned with: and the event proved that she was destined to be not their subject but their master.

Not long after the occupation of Thurii, a Roman fleet, endeavouring to intrude into the harbour of Tarentum, was driven off with serious loss by the Tarentine navy. Negotiations followed, and an embassy headed by Postumius was sent to demand satisfaction for the injury. He was grossly insulted, and his toga befouled by a wretched buffoon: holding up his dress before the mocking Tarentines, 'This stain,' said he, 'shall be washed out in your blood!' Returning to Rome he displayed the defiled garment in the senate house, but though the offended dignity of Rome clearly demanded a declaration


SOUTH
ITALY.
GREEK COLONIES UNDERLINED
Apulia
Lucania
Bruttii
Campania
Samnium
Latium
Etruria
Umbria
Picenum
Sicily
Sardinia
Corsica
Tarentum
Brundisium
Hydruntum
Caulonia
Locri
Rhegium
Croton
Sybaris
Metapontum
Heraclea
Thurii
Posidonia
Cumæ
Neapolis
Capua
Beneventum
Venusia
Luceria
Arpi
Canusium
Teanum
Cales
Volturnus R.
Liris R.
Tiber R.
Arno R.
Padus R.
Aesis R.
Frentanum Pr.
Garganum Pr.
Iapygium Pr.
Leucopetra Pr.
Lacinium Pr.
Crimisa
Thurium
Sinus Tarentinus
Sinus Hipponiates
Sinus Terinæus
Sinus Scylacius
Sinus Crotoniates
Ionium Mare
Tyrrhenum Mare
Adriaticum Mare
Libyssa
Ænaria
Pithecusa
Capreæ
Prochyta
Aethalia
Ilva
Corsica
Sardinia
Lipara
Hiera
Strongyle
Didyme
Melita
Gaulos
Cossyra
Lilybæum
Panormus
Drepanum
Segesta
Eryx
Motya
Himera
Thermæ
Agrigentum
Gela
Camarina
Syracusæ
Helorus
Pachynus
Hybla
Leontini
Catana
Naxus
Messana
Rhegium
Tauromenium
Mylæ
Centuripa
Enna
Hippana
Tyndaris
Halesa
Calacta
Cephaloedium
Panormus
Lilybæum
Libyssa
Africa
Sicilia
Italia
Graecia
Epirus
Illyricum
Macedonia
Thessalia
Peloponnesus
Creta
Cyprus
Rhodus
Asia
Aegyptus
Cyrenaica
Syrtis Major
Syrtis Minor
Carthago
Numidia
Mauritania
Hispania
Gallia
Britannia
Germania
Pannonia
Dacia
Moesia
Thracia
Bithynia
Pontus
Cappadocia
Armenia
Mesopotamia
Babylonia
Assyria
Media
Parthia
Hyrcania
Bactriana
Sogdiana
Scythia
Colchis
Iberia
Albania
Sarmatia
Euxinus Pontus
Palus Maeotis
Mare Caspium
Mare Rubrum
Persicus Sinus
Arabia
Aethiopia
Nilus R.
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Indus R.
Ganges R.
Hellespontus
Propontis
Bosporus
Thracius Bosporus
Cimmerius Bosporus
Aegaeum Mare
Ionium Mare
Adriaticum Mare
Tyrrhenum Mare
Libycum Mare
Atlanticum Mare
Rubrum Mare
Caspium Mare
Euxinus Pontus
Palus Maeotis
Sinus Persicus
Sinus Arabicus
Sinus Gallicus
Sinus Adriaticus
Sinus Tarentinus
Sinus Hipponiates
Sinus Terinæus
Sinus Scylacius
Sinus Crotoniates
Sinus Thermaicus
Sinus Strymonicus
Sinus Saronicus
Sinus Argolicus
Sinus Laconicus
Sinus Messenius
Sinus Corinthiacus
Sinus Ambracius
Sinus Pagasaeus
Sinus Maliacus
Sinus Euboicus
Sinus Thermaicus
Sinus Strymonicus
Sinus Saronicus
Sinus Argolicus
Sinus Laconicus
Sinus Messenius
Sinus Corinthiacus
Sinus Ambracius
Sinus Pagasaeus
Sinus Maliacus
Sinus Euboicus

of war, the senate hesitated for some days. In fact the position of Tarentum was naturally so strong, that its capture would be no easy matter. The Roman senate could not see their way to achieve that object, except by the aid of their friends within the hostile walls, and the nobles of Tarentum were not indisposed to betray the city into their hands. When therefore the consul Æmilius Barbula advanced with an army into the Tarentine territory, he still offered the same terms of peace as had been proposed by Postumius. These offers were indeed on the point of being agreed to, when the arrival of Cineas, the confidential minister of Pyrrhus, with promises of his master's support, upset the scheme. In the spring of B.C. 280, Pyrrhus arrived with his army, consisting of 25,000 horse and foot soldiers, and twenty elephants. He at once assumed the mastery over the lazy and dissolute mob who had sought his protection, and they were not long in wearying of his authority. Moreover, the aid which he had been led to expect from the native Italian states was not forthcoming; and he had no choice but to accept the challenge of the Roman general. The armies met at Heraclea, on the banks of the Siris, and thanks to his elephants, and to the confusion produced by them among the Roman ranks, Pyrrhus remained the victor. But though the beaten army lost 15,000 men, the conquerors left 13,000 on the field: and such a loss they could very ill afford. Well might Pyrrhus exclaim that 'such another victory would be worse than a defeat.' Still, he was now in a better position to offer terms such as the Romans might accept. He demanded only security for his Italian allies, and consented to return himself across the sea.

Cineas, whose eloquence was fortified with rich presents for the senators and their wives, conveyed these offers to Rome. Cineas was amazed to find his gold returned upon his hands, and his proposals of peace proudly declined. On his return he described the Roman senate as an assembly of kings, and his account of the simple grandeur of the Roman people was very discouraging to the invader.

The Romans took a special pride in recounting the incidents of this war, in which their valour, their constancy, and above all their magnanimity baffled the skill and science of Greek civilisation. Much no doubt they coloured, and much they imagined; but the picture drawn by them of the national

character has lived, and has encircled the name of Rome with a halo of enduring glory. Fabricius is remembered for his cool self-possession when the invader tried to terrify him into dishonourable terms by the close neighbourhood of his monstrous elephants, and for the integrity which resisted all attempts to bribe him. Indeed so great was the admiration and confidence inspired by this spirit, superior both to fear and interest, that Pyrrhus allowed his prisoners to visit Rome on parole to celebrate the Saturnalia, and they all kept their word and returned into captivity to a man. This indulgence, said another story, was granted in return for the generosity of the senate in disclosing to their enemy the treachery of his physician, who had offered to poison him. When the two armies again met in battle, a Decius announced that he would imitate the example of his glorious ancestors by devoting himself to death for the success of the Roman arms. Pyrrhus threatened to put him to death, if taken, as a sorcerer in league with infernal powers. But this threat did not deter him, and his self-devotion was not unrewarded. The victory indeed remained with Pyrrhus, but, as before, it was not less disastrous than a defeat. He now found his position in Italy untenable, and leaving only a garrison in the citadel of Tarentum, he betook himself to Sicily to aid the Greeks in that island against the Carthaginians. There had been treaties of amity and commerce between Rome and Carthage, and the latter now proposed an alliance against their common enemy. Rome stiffly refused, and during the three years that Pyrrhus was engaged in Sicily, the legions reduced his allies on the continent. In B.C. 275 he returned to Italy, and this time marched towards Rome. Near Beneventum he fell in with the army of Manius Curius strongly posted on high ground. Pyrrhus rashly tried to storm the Roman camp, but he was repulsed, and his army cut to pieces; even the elephants were turned to his disadvantage, as the Romans had now learned to scare these bulls of Lucania (as they derisively called them) with fiery missiles.

Pyrrhus returned in utter discomfiture to his own country, and soon after perished in an obscure combat at Argos. He left a strong garrison in the citadel of Tarentum, and it was not till three years later, B.C. 272, that the surrender of this force and of the Tarentine fleet, gave to the Romans a complete mastery over the South of Italy.

Table of Italian races in geographical order from North to South.

	Gauls	In the plains of the Po, and in Umbria, on the Adriatic coast.
	Etruscans	Etruria proper.
Sabellian races.	Sabines	(Æquians, Marsi, Peligni, Rutuli.)
	Samnites	Central ridges and valleys of the Apennines.
	Lucanians	
	Apulians	
	Bruttians	
	Latins	Plains of Latium and hill country of Northern Campania.
	Volscians	
	Auruncans	

Greek cities of Magna Græcia:
Tarentum, Croton, Sybaris, Locri, Thurii, Rhegium.

Greek cities of Campania:
Cumæ, Palæpolis, Neapolis, Pæstum.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ROMAN SYSTEM OF COLONISATION.

In the realm of nature it is found that the vigour and vitality of a plant are proportionate to the length of time it has taken to arrive at maturity. The same principle holds true with regard to human institutions. Those that grow slow last long.

The Greeks under Alexander effected in ten years the conquest of the East. But this mushroom empire quickly fell to pieces, and the Oriental populations subjected to Hellenic sway were never Hellenised. The Romans, on the other hand, only accomplished the subjugation of Italy after a struggle of amazing pertinacity, which lasted 120 years; but Rome succeeded in thoroughly Romanising her conquests, and she planted her laws, her language, her arts, her political usages, from end to end of the peninsula. When, as time rolled on, she extended her dominion beyond the sea, the same permanence and solidity characterised her new conquests, and even to this day every country of Western Europe is to a great extent moulded by her influence. We must now endeavour to set forth in what way the first important zone of Roman conquest was consolidated and organised, so as to produce such great and permanent results.

From early times the Roman people were resident partly in the city, and partly in the surrounding country. Under the Servian constitution there were four urban and twenty-six rural tribes. After the Etruscan invasion under Porsena, the Ager Romanus was much diminished in extent, and the number of rural tribes was reduced to sixteen. One more tribe was added when the Claudian gens migrated with all its followers to Rome, and was received into the body of citizens. Thus we obtain the number of twenty-one, which may be called the original tribes. As the republic extended the limits of its dominion, portions of the conquered territory were added to the Ager Romanus, and the people settled on these lands were incorporated into new tribes, and so grafted into the body of Roman citizens. Between the years 384–264 B.C., twelve new tribes were formed in this way; and some years later two more were added, to include the population of the Sabine mountains.

Thus in 264 B.C. we may reckon the Roman citizens as enrolled in thirty-three tribes, and scattered over a tract of country which included most of Latium, the southern part of Etruria, the Volscian region, and the northern half of Campania. It will be seen at once that a great preponderance of power lay in the hands of those citizens who belonged to the twenty-one original tribes, for it is not likely that their numbers more than equalled those of the outlying tribes, and yet they exercised twenty-one votes against twelve only of these latter. Another source of power to the urban and suburban tribes was the rule that a Roman citizen could only exercise his political privileges in the Roman Forum or the Campus Martius; and it follows from this that those who lived in or near to Rome had much more influence on public affairs than those who lived at a distance.

The Romans had no idea of representative government. A citizen who wished to exercise his franchise must come himself to Rome, and vote in person. Roman citizenship, however, carried with it other rights besides that of political franchise, and was highly prized by its possessors. These were—1. Absolute authority over wife and children, slaves and chattels; 2. A guarantee for his personal liberty, exemption from stripes, and from capital punishment, except by the vote of the people in the city, or under military authority in the camp; 3. Access to civil honours and employments; 4. The possession of land

and goods, subject only to the rules of Roman law; 5. Exemption from all taxes and tributes imposed at discretion on subjects of the state.

The Roman citizens enrolled in these thirty-three tribes (at a later period, 35), were the men who had conquered Italy; and when they came to organise their conquests they had no intention of sharing their dominion with the subject races. Rome remained the sovereign head of Italy. The Roman senate wielded the entire power of the subject states, and though the latter continued to exercise self-government to a great extent, yet in their relations with foreign states they were simply at the beck and call of Rome, and had no choice but to obey her mandates. There was indeed one class of subjects who were nominally citizens of the republic (cives sine suffragio), but this distinction was one little to be desired, and was in reality a badge of servitude. The population of certain towns, among which may be mentioned Cære, Anagnia, and Capua, were reckoned in the Roman census, and were draughted into the Roman legions. Their own laws were superseded, and Roman law introduced in their place. A Roman prefect administered this law and ruled over them. Thus they bore all the burdens of Roman citizenship, yet they had no political franchise, and retained scarcely any trace of their ancient independence. Their position was altogether inferior to that of the allied or confederated states, which occupied the greater part of the peninsula. We must now consider the condition of the allies and of the colonies.

The allies were—1st. The Latins, by which term must be understood those ancient Latin communities, such as Tibur and Prænestе, which had been allowed to retain their old laws and institutions. They most of them enjoyed the privileges of trade (commercium), and intermarriage (connubium), with the citizens of Rome, and also the jus-Latii, which entitled such of their citizens as had held the highest local magistracies to rise to the dignity of Roman citizenship.

2nd. The Etruscans. The cities of Etruria were allowed to maintain a nominal independence, but the Roman senate constantly supported the aristocratic faction in each city, which in turn was steadfastly devoted to the Roman alliance.

3rd. The Sabellian populations, the Samnites, the Lucanians,

the Apulians, the Bruttians, and many minor tribes. These races for the most part retained their old lands, their old laws, and their old system of self-government. The only exception being that in certain districts tracts of valuable land were seized by the Roman senate and divided among the colonists sent out by them to garrison the conquered countries.

4th. The Greek cities of the southern coasts which retained their old condition as free self-governing communities, though here and there, as in the case of Tarentum, a Roman garrison was established in the citadel to ensure their fidelity. These allies were all bound to Rome by solemn covenants, any breach of which she had the power and the will to punish. They paid no tribute. Their internal government remained almost unaltered in their own hands. The one condition of their alliance was that in case of war they must furnish a fixed quota of troops to fight side by side with the Roman legions. The Greek maritime cities were bound to furnish ships to the Roman fleet instead of troops to the army. The fighting men furnished by these numerous allies were not at first organised in separate legions, but were brigaded, so to speak, with the legions of Roman citizens, in such proportions, that in each legion half the infantry and two-thirds of the cavalry were allies, the remainder being citizen soldiers of Rome. It remains to consider the powerful instrument by which Rome bound together these subject nations, and gradually imbued them with her own spirit, till at length in laws, in language, and in institutions they became united into one body politic with herself. This instrument was colonisation. The colonies were divided into two classes—1st, Roman colonies, and 2nd, Latin colonies.

The Roman colonies, such as Sutrium, Velitræ, Ardea, were formed in the early days of her success. They consisted of Roman citizens, who, in exchange for valuable grants of land, consented to quit their homes, and to found new settlements at a distance. They carried with them all their rights and privileges as Roman citizens, and the laws of Rome; and if at any time chance or business carried them to the capital, they were as free to vote in the assemblies as if they had never left it. At the same time, in their own communities, they were organised politically on the model of the parent state. They were ruled by two annually elected magistrates, entitled duumvirs, cor-

responding to the consuls. They had their own popular assembly, and their own senate, their own military chest, and their own armed force. In all respects their government was constituted so as to reproduce in miniature the polity of Rome. The cities of Puteoli, Salernum, and Buxentum, may be mentioned as instances of true Roman colonies, founded at a much later period.

After the subjugation of Latium (B.C. 338) it became the usual practice to send out, not Roman but Latin colonies. These communities consisted mainly of persons who were not Roman citizens, and if any true Romans chose to join them they were required to cast in their lot completely with their new comrades, and to forfeit all right to vote or to become magistrates in Rome. They were, however, permitted to retain the more private rights of citizens enumerated above.

In the course of seventy years after the settlement of Latium as many as twenty of these colonies were established in all parts of Italy. The principal of these may be mentioned as follows:—

Luceria, Venusia, and Brundusium, in Apulia; Fregellæ, Interamna, in the Volscian territory on the frontier of Samnium; Cales and Cosa, in Campania; Beneventum, in the Samnite country; Ariminum, in the Gaulish region on the Adriatic coast; Narnia, in Umbria; Pæstum, a maritime colony in Lucania. Etruria was already sufficiently controlled by the old Roman colonies of Sutrium and Nepe, and so were the Æquians, the Rutulians, and the Volscians by similar establishments at Æsula, at Ardea, and at Antium.

During the long period of seventy years covered by the Samnite and Tarentine wars, the losses suffered in battle caused a great drain upon the forces of the republic, but, as has been shown, the roll of citizens was recruited by the admission of new tribes at frequent intervals. On the whole, we may estimate the number of citizens at the end of this period at about 280,000, which represents a total population of 1,200,000 souls. Some of the new colonies were very populous; for instance, Luceria is said to have been occupied by 14,000 men, Beneventum by 6,000, Venusia by 20,000; and their establishment would have caused a still further heavy drain upon the Roman population, but for the timely device of planting these new settlements with Latin allies who were not citizens.

Besides the colonies, there was yet another instrument adopted by the Roman republic to consolidate its empire—the practice of road-making. It was in the midst of the great struggle with Samnium (B. C. 312) that the censor Appius constructed the road from Rome to Capua, which bore his name. It was built in the most solid fashion, and paved with large square stones, some of which even now remain in their places. Upon such a pavement the legions could march with all their baggage with speed and certainty, in all weathers and in all seasons. The value of such a means of communication soon became apparent. Within fifty years the Valerian Way was laid to Corfinium, the Aurelian skirted the coast of Etruria, the Flaminian penetrated the Apennines to Ariminum, and the Æmilian continued this line to Placentia. This was but a first instalment of the work, and as the Roman empire expanded, the Roman roads were carried through Gaul to the furthest extremities of Spain and England. But they were so planned as always to lead from the centre to the circumference. There is an old proverb which says that all roads lead to Rome. This was once literally true; and it was of set purpose that Rome neglected and discouraged the cross lines of communication. She always jealously guarded against free intercourse between her diverse subjects, and even in the matter of road-making she carried out her political motto, 'Divide et impera.'

CHAPTER XVII.

ROME BROUGHT FACE TO FACE WITH CARTHAGE.

FIVE centuries had elapsed since the foundation of the Roman state: two centuries and a half since the constitution of the republic. At the close of this period we see Rome firmly established in the position of undisputed mistress of all Italy. For a space of more than a hundred years next ensuing the conquest of the western world was held in debate between the Romans and the Carthaginians. The history of that struggle is full of interest, for upon its result depended the fate of many generations of the human race. The progress of mankind towards a higher morality and an improved civilisation hung in the scale.

Carthage was one of many offshoots from the Syrian city of Tyre. Along the southern and western coasts of the Mediterranean Sea stood a number of maritime colonies planted by Phœnician rovers. They were at first independent of each other and of the parent city. On land they did little more than maintain their restricted territories against alien and barbarous neighbours. The sea was their element, and upon it their enterprising spirit led them into distant adventures, and their genius for commerce rendered them rich and prosperous. Among these trading communities Carthage had taken the lead. She had united them into one powerful state, and, at the same time, had brought under her own settled government a large extent of territory stretching east and west along the African shore, and as far inland as the limit of the desert would permit. But her chief resources were derived from her commercial relations with trading ports on almost every coast of the Mediterranean. The sea was the free highway of a hundred millions of people, who were kept apart by the want of roads no less than by political jealousies. The Carthaginians made themselves the common carriers of this vast population. With the Greeks, the Phœnicians, and the Egyptians, their relations were strictly commercial, and for a long time they kept themselves free from political complications with any other people. Their trading stations studded the coasts of Africa, Spain, Sardinia, and Corsica. They traded with the Phocæans of Massilia (Marseilles), and through them with the teeming population of Gaul. They worked the iron mines of Ilva (Elba), the silver mines of the Balearic Isles, and the gold mines of Spain. They traded with the Britons for tin, and sailed as far as Jutland in quest of amber. Wherever they found it necessary, they protected their establishments by forts, which they manned with hired soldiers. These mercenary forces consisted of Libyans and Moors from Africa, of Spaniards, of Gauls, of Greeks, and even of Italians. They were highly paid and their families well cared for, by which means they were attached to the service, and when sent abroad, left always hostages behind them. Their officers were the young scions of that proud and wealthy aristocracy which for centuries maintained its hold on the government of Carthage, and whose power was never shaken by a breath of revolution.

The wealth and feebleness of the Greek settlements in Sicily

first tempted the Carthaginians to entertain thoughts of establishing a foreign empire, and this false step eventually led to their ruin. Rome and Carthage had long been watching one another with jealousy, each perhaps afraid to provoke the resentment of the other. The attack of Pyrrhus on the Romans seemed to offer a favourable opportunity to the Carthaginians. They seized it and obtained a footing in the island, but in so doing they gave proof of an ambition which the Romans would not tolerate so near their own borders. Rome was quickly on the alert to arrest the schemes of her rival, and to protect the victims whom she had prematurely menaced.

Before entering upon the particulars of the great struggle between Rome and Carthage, it will be well to remind the reader that from this epoch we obtain for the first time the guidance of an historian of good faith, who lived near enough in time to the events which he relates to have the means of verifying them with some accuracy. Polybius, our chief authority for the incidents of the Punic wars, was born within fifty years of their commencement, and enjoyed frequent opportunities of communicating with many of the chief actors in them. He was an educated Greek writer, who knew the difference between faithful historical writing and the mere collecting of legendary tales. He was accustomed to seek and to sift the evidence upon which he founded his narrative: he was also truthful and impartial, and what he tells us of his own knowledge we may confidently accept as a fact. Moreover, he passed many years as a hostage at Rome, and his intimacy with the younger Scipio procured him access to the official documents of an earlier time. His history was probably written about a century after the beginning of the first Punic war.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR, B.C. 264-241.

FAME reports of Pyrrhus that on quitting the shores of Sicily he exclaimed, 'What an arena do we leave for the Carthaginians and the Romans to contend on!' The struggle for the dominion of the trilateral island was in truth imminent between these

two powers; and within the island lay two other powers, neither of them strong enough to stand alone, and therefore both of them under the necessity of choosing with which of the two greater combatants it would serve.

The Grecian colonies of Messana, Syracuse, Catana, Egesta, Panormus, and Lilybæum, formed a loose federation which had for centuries controlled the island, but which had now neither the strength nor the nerve to defend itself against a powerful external enemy. Their riches and luxury presented many objects of cupidity to a stranger, and the Carthaginians had long been assailing and undermining their position by intrigue even more than by force. Their recourse to Pyrrhus for aid brought the Romans into the field, and placed them between two fires. Besides the Greeks there were Italians in Sicily, bands of mercenary soldiers who had thrust themselves into some of the strong places on the coast. One of these, a troop of Mamertines from Bruttium, had seized upon the citadel of Messana, the most important place in all Sicily as the port of passage from Calabria. The Romans had shortly before overcome and destroyed just such a band of adventurers who had occupied Rhegium, on the opposite shore.

They were now invited by the Mamertines to take the contrary part, and support these brigands in their lawless occupation of Messana. The senate hesitated to adopt a policy so flagrantly inconsistent. But the assembly of the tribes voted in favour of their new clients: no tribune opposed his veto, and the senate, perhaps not unwillingly, consented. Rome was well aware that if she wished to conquer Sicily, Messana was the very key of the position; the most convenient place in the whole island for landing her troops. It was decreed that a military force should be sent to the assistance of the Mamertines, who were then threatened by Hiero, king of Syracuse, and little reassured by the treacherous overtures of the Carthaginians to secure them against him. U.C. 490, B.C. 264.

One of the tribunes, C. Claudius, crossed over in a small boat, and conveyed the assurance of assistance to follow; but the Carthaginian and Syracusan fleets held command of the sea, and the Romans, being deficient in naval force, were baffled in their attempts to cross. Hanno, the Carthaginian admiral, boastfully declared that he would no longer suffer them to meddle with the sea, even so much as to wash their hands in

it. The treachery of some of the Mamertines had delivered the citadel into his hands, and he incautiously came down from his stronghold to arrange terms of peace with the tribune Claudius. The latter audaciously seized his person, and he engaged to surrender the citadel as the price of his release. A band of Romans was admitted, and from that moment Messana passed under the dominion of Rome. The Carthaginians punished their commander by death on the cross, and massacred all the Italian mercenaries in their army for fear of another betrayal. They also laid siege to the town, but failed to prevent the Romans from carrying over sufficient troops to maintain their position there. At last the consuls, having collected 35,000 men on Sicilian ground, were enabled to attack and disperse the besieging forces, and in the course of the following year as many as sixty-seven cities fell into their hands. The Carthaginians retired to Africa, and Hiero of Syracuse, dismayed at the success of the Romans, hastened to make peace with them. His country thus escaped the ravages of war, and the Romans profited largely by his alliance, drawing from him ample supplies for their army.

In B.C. 262, the consuls attacked Agrigentum, where the Carthaginian Hannibal was stationed with a small force of mercenaries, and it was only after a seven months' siege, and a bloody victory over a relieving army, that they captured it. The Carthaginians were now falling short of money, and their mercenaries clamouring for their pay caused them much alarm. On one occasion they betrayed 4,000 of these Gaulish soldiers into a Roman ambuscade simply to be rid of them. The Romans proudly remarked that their soldiers, though also in arrears of pay, fought loyally for their country and their standards. At the end of the third year of the war, Rome had left to Carthage no more than a few maritime ports in the island; but at sea Carthage was still supreme, her navy ravaged some of the coasts of Italy and threatened all, and was often able to harass the Roman armies by intercepting the supplies destined for them. It seems that at this time the Romans were not only destitute of war vessels, but devoid also of the knowledge required for their construction. It was not till chance threw upon the coasts of Latium a Carthaginian quinquireme that they obtained a model upon which to work. Then, indeed, the activity displayed by the republic was marvellous.

In the short space of two months, forests were cut down, timbers sawn, and not fewer than a hundred galleys of large size and adequate solidity constructed. While the ships were building, thousands of landsmen from the inland towns and villages of Italy, and proletarians of the lowest class from Rome, were set to work to practise rowing upon benches on the dry land. These hastily trained levies were no match in nautical manœuvring for the skilled mariners of Carthage; they were therefore instructed to grapple and board the enemy rather than to attempt to outsail him or to charge him with the beaks of their vessels. For this purpose they were provided with solid frames of timber, which were to be dropped upon his deck and used as drawbridges, so that the contest might be decided by a hand-to-hand encounter between the crews. The result of these tactics was, that in the first great naval engagement between the two rivals, the Carthaginians were overpowered and chased to Sardinia, with the loss of half their fleet and many thousands of killed and wounded. U.C. 494, B.C. 260. Their leader, on landing, was seized and crucified by his own mercenaries. Such was the victory of Mylæ, the first naval triumph of the Romans, brilliant in itself, and an encouraging presage of their success in the future. From that time forward, the Romans never feared to meet the Carthaginians at sea, though the fortune of war was by no means invariably on their side, the balance of victory being held pretty evenly between the two nations. Meanwhile the exultation at Rome was unbounded. A triumph was voted to the admiral Duilius; a column was erected in the Forum to commemorate his achievement; and it was decreed that he should never go through the city at night without a procession of torch-bearers to illuminate his passage.

So complete was the victory that the Romans could afford to divide their forces; and while one portion was sent to complete the destruction of the enemy's fleet and to commence the conquest of Sardinia and Corsica, the other was directed upon Sicily to prosecute the war there. This force only escaped a great disaster through the gallantry of the tribune Calpurnius, who covered their retreat from an ambuscade by the sacrifice of himself and a brave band of 300 followers.

The war continued in Sicily without decided success on either side, till at length the Carthaginians were driven to the

western extremity of the island, where they fortified themselves strongly in Drepanum and Lilybæum.

An enormous armament was now fitted out by Rome, and sent, under the command of Manlius Vulso and Atilius Regulus, to attack Carthage itself. This array of 330 vessels, 100,000 sailors, and 40,000 legionaries, was encountered off the southern coast of Sicily by an equal, if not superior, force. The Carthaginians were worsted, and lost more than 100 of their ships, the remainder escaping to Africa, whither they were hotly pursued by the victorious Romans. It is difficult to attach credit to the numbers here stated, as they are five times as great as those engaged at Trafalgar.

Africa had long been to the Romans a land of monsters and imaginary terrors. On landing upon its shores they were much alarmed, and hesitated to advance, thus giving time to the Carthaginians to prepare their defence. One story popular at Rome asserted that the invading army was detained on the banks of the river Bagrada by the venomous breath of a mighty serpent 130 feet long. After securing his means of supply and retreat, Regulus did advance, and defeated the enemy in various encounters, capturing many prisoners and a vast amount of plunder. The senate, elated and over-confident at his success, then recalled his colleague and one-half of the legions. With his diminished force Regulus succeeded in taking Tunes, killing and capturing many thousands of his opponents. But now the Carthaginians called to their aid Xanthippus, a Spartan general of great skill and courage. Under his command, and aided, as the Romans declared, by a mighty host of elephants, they inflicted a great defeat upon the invaders. Carthage was saved, and Regulus and a large part of his army made prisoners. The story of Regulus is too picturesque and too well known to be passed over in silence, however good reasons there may be for doubting the truth of it.

U.C. 499, B.C. 255.

It is related that five years after his capture the Carthaginians, being anxious to arrange terms of peace and an exchange of prisoners, despatched an embassy to Rome to negotiate. With it they sent Regulus, whom they bound on parole to return to captivity if their offers were rejected. The senate was well inclined to accept the proposed terms, but, to the surprise and admiration of all, Regulus exhorted them not to do so, because he thought such a course would be to the

advantage of Carthage. Resisting the entreaties of his friends, he refused to break his parole; he refused even to enter the city, or to visit his wife and children. Fixing his eyes sternly on the ground, he took his way back into captivity; and the Carthaginians, unmoved by his brave and honourable conduct, wreaked their vengeance upon him by a series of horrible tortures which ended only with his death. The story proceeds to relate how two noble Carthaginians were handed over to the widow of Regulus, who tortured them to death with a barbarity quite equal to that by which her husband had perished. It is not incredible that the Carthaginians, who were given to human sacrifices and other bloody rites, may have been guilty at times of great cruelty to their Roman prisoners; but this particular story is not supported by the evidence of the most trustworthy historians.

The Romans were deeply moved by the defeat of their African expedition, and, despite another naval victory, they recalled the legions to Italy. Presently after, they suffered another great disaster, when 270 of their ships were dashed to pieces in a storm on the Sicilian coast. Carthage, taking courage from her rival's misfortune, despatched a new fleet with a new army and 140 elephants to recommence the war in Sicily. But the senate was diligent also, and in the course of three months the consuls, one of whom was Cn. Cornelius Scipio, embarked with their legions on a freshly constructed fleet of 220 galleys, and, appearing unexpectedly before Panormus, succeeded in reducing that important city. In the next year the Roman fleet made a plundering expedition to the African coast, and on its return was again shattered by a tempest off the coast of Lucania. Discouraged by these repeated losses at sea, the senate determined to maintain only such a fleet as would suffice to protect the shores of Italy and the communications with the army in Sicily. The legions quartered there seem to have felt themselves abandoned; and it was only by the severest measures that discipline could be enforced among them. When, however, the Carthaginian Hasdrubal ventured to attack them in Panormus, they fought with their wonted bravery under the command of Cæcilius Metellus. The African elephants were put to flight, and carried confusion among the Carthaginian host; while the Romans, attacking them in flank, completely routed

U.C. 504, B.C. 250.

them. A hundred elephants, captured and conveyed to Rome, were exposed to be hunted by the populace in the circus, and the Romans at last made up their minds that these monsters were not really formidable adversaries.

This signal defeat disposed the Carthaginians to wish for peace, and led to the despatch of that embassy, already mentioned, of which Regulus formed part.

Failing in this attempt, and being too exhausted to continue the struggle in the open field, the Carthaginians retired to their fortresses of Lilybæum and Drepanum, at the western extremity of the island. In the autumn of the year 250 B.C. the Romans undertook the siege of Lilybæum with an immense fleet and army. For many months the attack was carried on with all the engineering devices known to the ancients; but the defence was spirited and successful. The Carthaginian fleet, too, proved its superiority at sea, and sailed in unmolested to relieve the beleaguered fortress. At length, despairing of success, the Romans converted the attack into a blockade, which, however ineffectual, was maintained till the termination of the war nine years later, when the place was at last ceded to Rome under the conditions of peace. In 249 B.C. the consul Claudius was sent to the seat of war with supplies and reinforcements. Soon after his arrival he sought out the Carthaginian fleet, which was moored in the neighbouring port of Drepanum; but he was easily outmanœuvred by Adherbal, the Punic admiral, and of his fleet of 210 ships only 30 escaped. Twenty thousand Roman legionaries were made prisoners, and many more perished in the battle or by drowning. Such a defeat had not been suffered by Rome since the day of the Allia.

It is noteworthy that the Romans chose to attribute this disaster to the impiety of their commander. A story was told, and repeated in more enlightened times, to the effect that on the morning of the battle of Drepanum, when the omens were consulted, Claudius was informed that the sacred chickens refused to eat. 'Let them drink,' he profanely exclaimed, and, casting them into the sea, he advanced to meet the destruction with which the gods did not delay to punish his wickedness.

About the same time his colleague Junius, while leading a convoy of provision ships to the relief of the besiegers at Lilybæum, suffered shipwreck off Camarina, and 800 shiploads of provisions went to the bottom.

During the six years that followed the Romans made no attempt to recover the empire of the sea. The Carthaginian Hamilcar, surnamed Barcas, or the lightning, roved the seas unopposed, and led his mercenaries on plundering expeditions all along the coasts of Sicily and Southern Italy. After a while the Carthaginian fleets returned to the peaceful ways of commerce, and then, in B.C. 242, the senate seized the opportunity, constructed and equipped a fleet of 200 galleys, and sent it, under the command of Lutatius Catulus, to challenge the enemy off Drepanum. Here he remained practising his crews and his pilots for nearly a year, and at length, in the spring of B.C. 241, he encountered the enemy off the Ægates Insulæ, and won a splendid victory over them. This victory decided the war. Carthage was exhausted, and obliged to sue for peace. The long-contested fortresses of Lilybæum and Drepanum were ceded at last to Rome, but Hamilcar and his brave garrison were allowed to march out with the honours of war. Carthage also undertook to respect the independence of Hiero and the other Greeks in Sicily, to give up all that she had acquired in that island, to restore her prisoners, and to pay to Rome a considerable indemnity. So ended the first Punic war, after a struggle of twenty-four years' duration. U.C. 573, B.C. 241. The losses on both sides had been enormous; those of Rome were the heaviest. But at the cost of these sacrifices she had established her position as a great naval power, and had made her arm felt far beyond the limits of Italy. Her bravery, her skill, and her fortitude thus tried and approved, seemed to mark her out already for the conquest of the world.

CHAPTER XIX.

ROMAN CONQUESTS IN THE CISALPINE AND IN THE ISLANDS. CARTHAGINIAN CONQUESTS IN SPAIN.

It may seem surprising that, throughout the long and exhausting contest just described, the Roman state was never once attacked, or even harassed, by the many Italian tribes whom she had but lately deprived of their independence. This immunity was, how-

ever, the fruit of her own good policy. The conquered nations of Italy soon began to feel the immense advantage of living at peace among themselves as members of one great confederation. Moreover, the enterprising and warlike spirits among them found an ample outlet for their martial energy in the ranks of the Roman legions. Here they were admitted to fight as allies side by side with their conquerors, and to share not only the privations, but also the pay, the plunder, and the honours of the republican soldiers. Under such conditions their sympathies were soon strongly enlisted in the cause of Rome. It was far otherwise with Carthage. No bond of union existed between the great commercial city and her allies and mercenaries, but the pay which she offered or the fear which she inspired. Defeated and bankrupt as she was at the end of the first Punic war, she soon had to face still sterner troubles.

The mercenaries returning from Sicily found that their wages, long over due, could not be paid. They mutinied wholesale, and were quickly joined by 70,000 Libyans and Numidians. All North Africa was in a blaze, and Carthage must bestir herself if she would escape destruction. Under the guidance of Hamilcar Barcas a new citizen army was enlisted and organised, with the aid of a few mercenary battalions who remained faithful. In the course of three years of cruel and horrible warfare the rising was put down, and Carthage restored to her position as queen of Africa. But, as the price of this salvation, her government suffered a great political change. The popular party in arms, with Hamilcar Barcas at its head, had retrieved the fortunes of the state. They now claimed a voice in its government, and the old aristocracy had no option but to submit to their demands.

The first Punic war had lasted twenty-four years, and a period of equal length, bating one year only, elapsed before the two nations came again into collision. The interval was employed by both of them in largely extending their dominions. The Romans first consolidated Sicily into a province. Such was the name applied by them to a conquered region beyond the limits of Italy; and Sicily was the first of the many provinces, which, at a later date, made up the vast extent of the Roman empire. The little kingdom of the Syracusan Hiero was permitted to retain a nominal independence, and so were Messana and some other cities which had done good service to

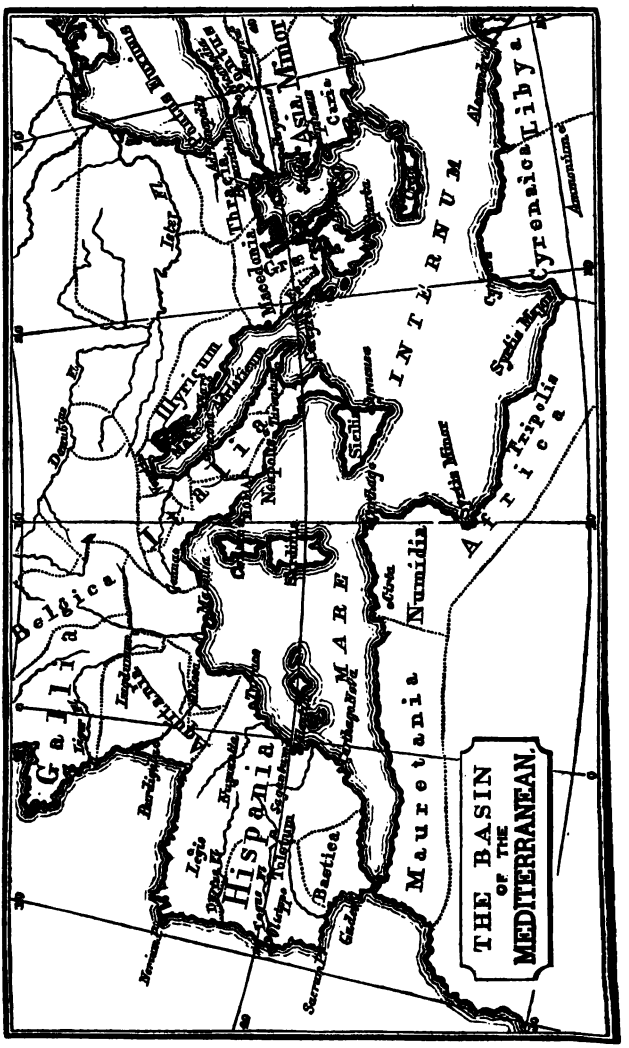
the republic. In return they were required to bind themselves to a strict alliance with Rome.

The major part of the island was placed under the government of a Roman officer, who bore the title of prætor, and the natives were compelled to surrender large tracts of land to Roman proprietors, and to pay a yearly tithe of corn and other produce. The natives were prohibited from buying land. They might sell, and doubtless many of them, impoverished by the war, were eager to do so, but the purchasers must be Romans. In this way a large portion of this fertile island became the property of the conquering race.

When the revolt of the Carthaginian mercenaries took place in Africa, a similar outbreak occurred among the troops stationed in Sardinia. Rome forbade Carthage, by a threat of instant war, to interfere. She, however, stepped in herself, and after some hard fighting reduced that island and Corsica to the condition of a conquered province. A prætor was appointed to administer the government, and the unfortunate natives were deported in large numbers and sold in the slave-markets of Rome.

The eastern shores of the Adriatic, indented by winding bays and sheltered by countless islands, had long been the nest of a swarm of pirates, who not only destroyed the commerce of those seas, but endangered the Roman territories on the Adriatic coast. These Illyrian buccaneers, under their queen Teuta, had of late become over bold. Corcyra had fallen under their dominion. Not a few Greek cities on the coast had been plundered, and others were threatened with destruction by these barbarians. In the year 229 B.C. Rome determined to put them down. One campaign sufficed, and not only were the Illyrians reduced within their proper limits, but Corcyra was added to the territories of the republic, and an alliance, amounting almost to a protectorate, was concluded with the numerous Greek towns along the coast. The people of Hellas were overjoyed at being relieved from such savage neighbours. The Romans were hailed as a race of heroes, and solemnly invited by Corinth to take part in the Isthmian games, while at Athens they were declared to be honorary citizens and admitted to the Eleusinian mysteries. U.C. 526, B.C. 228.

The next great step in advance made by the Roman power was the conquest of the whole Gaulish territory between her


Gallia
Belgica
Hispania
Lusitania
Baetica
Mauretania
Numidia
Africa
Italia
Illyricum
Asia Minor
Cyrenaica
Libya
MARE INTERNUM
THE BASIN OF THE MEDITERRANEAN.

own northern frontier and the Alps. Hitherto her most advanced positions had been Ariminum on the upper and Luca on the lower coast. The whole valley of the Po and the northern slopes of the Apennines were still in the power of her long-dreaded enemies the Gauls. Most fortunately for Rome, during her protracted contest with Carthage these foes had been divided among themselves.

The Boii and Senones, who were nearest to the Etruscan and Umbrian frontier, were harassed and pressed upon by the poorer tribes of the Cenomani, the Insubres, and the Ligurians. These Gauls now made common cause together, and, aided by numerous hordes from beyond the Alps, gathered up their strength for a fresh assault upon the wealthy regions of the south. The Romans were in consternation. The Capitol had been struck by lightning. The Sybilline books, on being consulted, declared that danger was to be apprehended from the Gauls. Superstitious terrors filled the people with alarm, and these were only allayed by the barbarous sacrifice of two Gauls, a man and a woman, and two Greeks, who were buried alive in the centre of the city.

But no efforts were spared to ward off the impending calamity by energy and prudence. A 'Gallic tumult' was proclaimed, and all the citizens were called to arms. Legions were enrolled and sent to the front. Every city was required to strengthen its defences and to lay in stores of arms and provisions. Above all, the senate, with its usual craft, engaged the Cenomani and Veneti to act in the rear of the Gauls and threaten their territories if they should venture to advance into Italy. The force of the invaders was thus crippled at the outset, and they were unable to pour into the Roman territory more than 50,000 foot and 20,000 horse, a number with which the Romans, with 350,000 men capable of bearing arms, might well be able to cope.

The Gauls, however, advanced undismayed, and pushing adroitly between two opposing armies, crossed the Apennines, and descended into the valley of the Arno. The first Roman force which closed with them was repulsed, and only saved from destruction by the opportune arrival of a second. Evading the pursuit of the combined armies, the Gauls retreated with their booty, but unexpectedly found themselves confronted, near the mouth of the Arno, by a third Roman army, which

had just landed at Pisa on its return from Sardinia. Thus
U.C. 529, B.C. 225. surrounded, the invaders were completely overpowered. One of the consuls, C. Regulus, fell in the battle; the other, Æmilius, pushed across the frontier and carried the war into the enemy's country. There it continued to rage for three years, as the Gauls fought gallantly in defence of their homes.

One of the heroes of this war was Flaminius, a leader of the popular party which began now to form a strong opposition to the ruling aristocracy of the city. He was a favourite with the people on account of an assignment of lands he had made them in the neighbourhood of Ariminum. His opposition to the nobles was evinced by the contempt with which he cast aside the trammels of augury. On one occasion the senate, in their jealousy, sent letters warning him against an engagement because the omens were unfavourable. Not till he had fought and won would he open the letters, and then he quietly remarked that it was too late to act upon them. At the end of a successful campaign he demanded a triumph, and when the senate refused it, the people interfered and decreed him full
U.C. 531, B.C. 223. honours by a vote in their assembly. Flaminius secured for himself more solid and enduring honour, as the builder of the great Flaminian Way, the direct road from Rome to the Gallic frontier near Ariminum. This remained for many centuries the great highway of the legions from Rome to the north, and by means of it the republic could strike at any moment a sudden blow at her deadliest enemy.

Another hero of this war, indeed the general under whose command the conquest of the Cisalpine was effected, was M. Claudius Marcellus, consul in the year B.C. 222. He won a brilliant victory at Clastidium, and, in conjunction with his colleague Calvus Scipio, captured Mediolanum (Milan), the most important station of the Gauls beyond the Po. But the especial glory of the great Marcellus was derived from his slaying of the Gaulish king Viridomarus in personal combat. Twice only in the history of Rome had such an exploit been performed, by Romulus, and by Tullus Hostilius. Marcellus, for the third and last time in the history of the city, as leader of a Roman army, slew with his own hand the leader of the enemy, and dedicated his armour, the spolia opima, the prize of prizes, to Jupiter Feretrius in the Capitol.

Marcellus gained a triumph over the Gauls and Germans; he was five times consul, and rendered many signal services; but it is for his capture and dedication of the spolia opima that Virgil specially celebrates him.

The conquest of the Cisalpine was consolidated by carrying on the military road from Ariminum to the foot of the Alps, and planting colonies at Cremona and Placentia. In the following year the Roman eagles were carried into the peninsula of Istria, and access by land was thereby secured into the regions beyond the Adriatic. The empire of Rome was marching onwards with the steps of a giant. At the close of the first Punic war the Roman senate had declared that they were at peace with all the world, and that the temple of Janus should be shut. We have seen how that in Sardinia, in Illyria, and in Cisalpine Gaul the arms of Rome had been actively employed during the next twenty years; but the time has now come when we must turn our attention once more towards the south and west to understand the circumstances which were preparing the next and most terrible storm of war which was soon to burst over the Roman state.

After the subjugation of the revolted mercenaries had been completed, the veteran Hamilcar stood at the head of the Carthaginian state; but finding himself thwarted by the aristocratic faction under the leadership of Hanno, he turned his energies in the direction of Spain, which he undertook to reduce under the sway of Carthage. Hispania or Iberia, with its fertile soil, its rich gold mines, and its hardy population, was a prize worthy to be contested by the greatest of nations. The conqueror of such a country would secure great store of the precious metals, large openings for commerce, and an inexhaustible supply of willing and vigorous recruits.

The Carthaginian senate, accustomed to regard commerce rather than arms as the mainstay of their national greatness, looked with jealous apprehension on the warlike schemes of their great captain. But Hamilcar, having once extorted permission to wage his warfare in Spain, was at no loss to make the war self-maintaining.

By mingling in the politics of the natives, and taking the part of one tribe against another, he advanced his power step by step over large portions of their territory. He used the booty thus acquired to bribe his adversaries at home, and pro-

bably the mass of his countrymen were soon dazzled by the splendour of the results he obtained for them. When after some years of successful aggressions Hamilcar was slain in Lusitania, the popular party in Carthage insisted on the appointment of his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, to complete his undertakings.

The soldier was succeeded in this case by the statesman. The wise policy of Hasdrubal conciliated the native tribes and won the confidence of their chiefs. His influence was exerted to pacify their intestine feuds, and to weld them into a strong and united confederacy under the direction of his own republic. In the excellent port of New Carthage, or Carthagena, conveniently near to the Punic coast, he established a strong base for future operations. The Romans took alarm, and, under a threat of immediate war, compelled him to enter into a compact not to extend his conquests beyond the line of the Ebro. They professed to interfere in the interest of the Massalians, with whom they had formed an alliance as a check on the Transalpine Gauls. They had also entered into friendly relations with the people of Saguntum, who dwelt to the south of the Ebro. Having taken these precautions, and appealing to the faith of their treaty with Carthage, which bound both parties mutually not to molest each other's allies, they awaited the course of events with renewed confidence.

In the year B.C. 221, Hasdrubal perished by the hand of a Gaulish slave in revenge for the slaying of his master. The armies of Carthage in Spain at once acclaimed Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, as their commander. This famous general was then twenty-six years of age. His childhood and youth had been spent in the camp, where he had learnt the art of war from his father, and that of government from his brother-in-law. When he was but nine years old he witnessed the solemn sacrifice offered by his father Hamilcar for the success of the enterprise which he was on the point of launching against Spain. At the close of the ceremony the father bade his child devote himself to the service of his country by swearing with his hand on the altar never to be the friend of the Romans. The oath was taken, and the young Hannibal, keenly sensible of its obligation, cherished, through all the trials of his Iberian campaigns, the resolution to avenge some day on Rome the shame and injuries of Carthage. In the

year 219, two years after Hannibal assumed the command in Spain, news arrived in Rome that he was threatening Saguntum. The consuls, who were just entering upon the final conquest of Illyria, did not change the destination of their armies, but sent a message to Hannibal reminding him of the treaty, and sternly forbidding him to meddle with the allies of Rome.

The young hero replied to the ambassadors in a defiant tone, and proceeded with his designs against Saguntum. The inhabitants, nerved perhaps by the hope of aid from Rome which never reached them, made a glorious defence, and when all their resources were exhausted, perished amid the conflagration of their city kindled by their own desperation.

The republic of Carthage, an older foundation than that of Rome, had advanced a hundred years beyond its rival in political development. The old Punic aristocracy had for centuries ruled the commonwealth with definite aims and consistent policy. The instrument of their power was the great mercenary army, and when this collapsed, the control of public affairs passed in a great measure into the hands of the popular faction. It might have been thought that this transfer of power would lead to the infusion of new life and vigour into the government of Carthage; but in effect it quickly resulted in a surrender of the forces of the state into the hands of her military leaders. It was no longer at Old Carthage, in the councils of the senate, or even the assemblies of the people, that her policy was to be determined, but rather at New Carthage, in the tent of her ablest captain, swayed perhaps himself by the demands of officers and soldiers. When the senate accepted the nomination of Hannibal by the army in Spain, it gave itself a chief and submitted its policy to his dictation. Its fate was the same as that which befell the Roman senate a century later, when the long dominant aristocracy was constrained, under the pressure of an armed democracy, to follow the course prescribed by the leaders of its legions in the provinces. Rome, it is true, possessed many provinces and many generals, and might hope to play off one of these against another, and so retain substantial power in her own hands. Yet such a course must inevitably lead sooner or later to civil war, and so it was that Rome was forced to accept the wars imposed upon her by a Sulla or a Cæsar, just as Carthage now submitted to the dictation of Hannibal.

The safeguard provided by the Romans against this danger was the rule which limited supreme command to the short period of one year. But when the outposts of the republic were stationed far beyond the frontiers of Italy, this rule was found impracticable, and the proconsular authority was granted for periods of five years, which gave time enough for an able general to mould the legions to his will, and attach them to his person. When, as in the case of Cæsar, the five years' rule was still further prolonged, or, as in the case of Pompeius, extended over many provinces, the opportunity could not be far distant when the Roman republic must be converted into a monarchy.

At the time, however, with which we are now concerned, these dangers were still remote. The constitution of Rome stood for the moment in a curiously balanced condition. The old privileges of the aristocracy had been swept away. The Licinian, the Publilian, and the Hortensian laws had established the equal right of every citizen, no matter what his birth or his fortune, to be elected to the highest offices. The legislative power was in the hands of the comitia of the tribes, where numbers alone prevailed. Nothing could be more thoroughly democratic in form than the constitution of Rome; yet by a happy fortune the aristocratic sentiment survived; and the result was that her magistrates and her generals were still almost uniformly nobles. At the same time there was no monopoly. New men from time to time arose from the ranks of the people, and showed a capacity for leadership; they too were admitted to the councils and the offices of the republic. They were thus ennobled themselves, and founded noble houses for their children. So happy a balance of the constitution was not likely to be long maintained. It was due to an exalted sense of public duty and self-control, which are not often, nor for long together, found in any community. Indications too were not wanting that the austere morality of Rome was already trembling towards its fall.

The sanctity, for instance, of matron life, was a cardinal foundation of Roman morality. Offences against the marriage tie seem not to have been contemplated as possible in early times, and accordingly no provision had been made for divorce. In B.C. 231, at the instance of Spurius Cavilius, who wished to put away his wife for barrenness, a measure was passed which enabled him and others to divorce their wives by a formal pro-

cess of law. But his example was too readily followed, and nothing did more to undermine the old severity of Roman morals than the laxity thus introduced into the holiest and most delicate of all human relations. The religious system of Rome, at the same time, had become fixed in sterile rigidity. The ancient usages of the Italian and Etruscan nations remained entire; but whatever spiritual principles may have at one time germinated within them, little beyond the mere husk now survived. Superstition still maintained an elaborate apparatus of auguries and sacrifices, of vows and supplications, but neither spiritual doctrine nor moral teaching were connected with them. All their observances had no other object than to avert a temporal injury or acknowledge a temporal benefit. It is not surprising that under such circumstances the faith of the Romans in their ancient deities, and in the value of religion itself, should be in a state of decay. That such disbelief was prevalent is proved by the story of Claudius, who flung the sacred chickens into the sea, and by that of the family of the Potitii, who, being entrusted with the cult of Hercules, abandoned all care of the demi-god to their slaves. The people of Rome were beginning to be conscious of the hollowness of their religion, and to look elsewhere for something better. This they vainly hoped to find by importing some of the gods of Greece and Asia. A solemn embassy was sent, B.C. 291, to Epidaurus in the Peloponnese, to ask for a statue of Æsculapius, and to obtain instruction in the observances of his worship. And not many years after the period at which we are now arrived, the sensational worship of the Good Goddess, or Phyrgian Cybele, was introduced. These new forms of religion seem to have checked the progress of impiety for a time, but for moral and spiritual purposes they were no more efficacious than the old ones.

Two other incidents are worthy of notice here.

In 238 B.C., the popular spectacle of the Floralia was first celebrated. The idea of it was simple and innocent—the dedication of the first fruits of the year at the opening of the summer season. Yet it was speedily degraded into an orgie of sensual dissipation, which for centuries did more than anything else to demoralise the Roman youth. Within two years of its institution was born M. Porcius Cato, the austere and pedantic censor, of world-wide celebrity. This man straying, perhaps inadvertently, into the theatre where the Floralia were being

exhibited, felt constrained to turn his back upon them and flee from the contamination of the spectacle.

The institution of gladiatorial shows preceded that of the Floralia by several years. It was in the first year of the first Punic war that Marcus and Decimus Brutus set forth in public a combat between swordsmen at the obsequies of their father. The brutal excitement of these bloody exhibitions soon became popular among the Romans, and before long they formed part of the recognised apparatus by which candidates for office secured the favour of the electors. The rude and fierce captives of foreign war were at first set on to slay one another. After a time schools of gladiators were established, at which troops of slaves were trained to fight with elegance and skill. The Romans pretended to believe that these cruel spectacles helped to train them in sentiments of manly pride and contempt for wounds and death; but no true critic of human nature can fail to trace to their influence the hardening of the heart and conscience of the mass of the Roman people.

U.C. 490, B.C. 264.

CHAPTER XX.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

HITHERTO the Carthaginian generals had manœuvred against the Romans on the neutral ground of Sicily and Sardinia. They had boldly confronted them in defence of their own soil when the legions ventured to invade Africa, but they had shrunk from assailing the power of Rome on her own territory. Such, however, was the audacious enterprise to which Hannibal now addressed himself. He reckoned upon the alliance of the Samnites and Etruscans, who had but recently yielded to the Roman power. He was perhaps too apt to confound the honourable service of the Roman citizen with the mercenary spirit of his own forces. Above all, he relied upon the implacable enmity which still subsisted between the Gauls of the Cisalpine and the enemy with whom they had so long contended. On all these points Hannibal did in fact miscalculate, and accordingly his skill, his valour, his constant resolution were all unavailing. No doubt he had little means of rightly weighing the data on

which he proceeded; but the event proved that his invasion of Italy was grounded on hopes that proved utterly fallacious, and in his blind confidence he did not shrink from flinging away upon it all the resources of his country which his father had so long and carefully husbanded.

Taking advantage of the employment and dispersion of the Roman legions in so many quarters, the young captain crossed the Ebro with a force of 90,000 foot and 12,000 horse, attended by a squadron of thirty-seven elephants, in the beginning of the summer of the year B.C. 218. U.C. 536, B.C. 218.

With a long and difficult march of 800 miles in view across both the Pyrenees and the Alps, it may seem that the summer was already too late a season to start on such an expedition. The guerilla warfare in which the natives opposed him, and the difficulty of raising supplies for his vast armament, enforced upon him circumspection and delay. At the foot of the Pyrenees he was glad to leave 10,000 men under his brother Hasdrubal, and so reduce the number of mouths he had to feed. He further dismissed an equal number of Spanish auxiliaries. In crossing the frontier, which he did at some point near the Mediterranean coast, his army consisted of only 50,000 foot and 9,000 horse. He marched to the Rhone without opposition, but found his passage of that river barred by the Gauls, and his advance delayed by the necessity of collecting boats to convey his troops across. Detaching a small force to cross the stream higher up and fall upon the rear of his opponents, he effected the passage on the fifth day, but the season had now fallen deep into the autumn.

Hannibal doubtless intended to follow the coast line into Italy, marching between the Alps and the sea. Had he crossed the Rhone a few weeks earlier, he might perhaps have fallen upon the Roman outposts before he was expected, and found no legions arrayed against him. But those few weeks sufficed to baffle his calculations. The Romans indeed were taken by surprise. Even after the fall of Saguntum they still delayed to take vigorous measures, never dreaming of the audacious enterprise which Hannibal was preparing against them. In the summer of the ensuing year they had collected as usual their two consular armies, of which they destined the one under P. Cornelius Scipio to act against Hannibal in Spain, the other under Sempronius to attack the Carthaginians in Africa.

When the news of Hannibal's advance upon Italy reached Rome, it became necessary to change these plans at once. A portion of Scipio's army which had not yet embarked for Spain was directed to make for the coast of Gaul at Massalia, and seek to intercept his progress. Scipio reached his destination too late to stop the invader on the banks of the Rhone. A casual encounter between his own outposts and a body of Numidian horse first made him aware of this fact. But Hannibal was too wary to engage the Romans at once. Counting perhaps on the effect of his presence in Italy in raising the population, he would not risk the chances of defeat while the entire destruction of the Roman power seemed within his grasp. He would not fight till he had planted himself on Italian soil. He would not pit his Numidians and Spaniards against the Romans till they should be borne along in triumph by the whole mass of Gauls and Etruscans, Samnites, Greeks, and Campanians.

Avoiding therefore a combat with Scipio, and striking out a devious course through the peninsula or island which lies between the Rhone and the Isère, he ascended the stream, and led his troops into the heart of the Alps, which it seems probable that he crossed by the pass known as the Little St. Bernard. The Allobroges, through whose country he was passing, aided him with supplies and clothing, and the Boii of the Cisalpine encouraged him to make the passage of the Alps and descend into their territory, towards which they undertook to guide him.

But it was now late in October. The mountain paths were already encumbered with snow. Little food or shelter was to be found in these wild regions, and the goodwill with which the natives had at first received Hannibal soon changed into hostility towards a soldiery which was obliged to live at free quarters upon them. Neither the men nor the elephants of Africa were braced to the endurance required for such an adventure. Both men and animals perished in great numbers. Hannibal, however, pressed forward with indomitable energy. He overcame the resistance of the Allobroges, who now thought to destroy him among the mountain defiles, and forced his way over ice and through snow across the slippery summit of the pass. Strange stories were told of his blasting the rocks with fire and vinegar. These exaggerated reports probably

indicate that the Carthaginians had to use the spade as well as the sword, and to exert such engineering skill as they possessed in clearing a track along which the troops could pass. When at length they descended into the smiling valleys of the Cisalpine, their numbers were reduced to 20,000 foot and 6,000 horse, with a pitiful array of seven elephants. Hannibal had conquered his difficulties, but now commenced his disappointments. No allies offered themselves, no auxiliaries joined his slender ranks. The Gauls awaited the issue of the first encounter before declaring for either party. The Romans, roused to a sense of their danger, evinced their accustomed alacrity. Sempronius was recalled from Carthage. Scipio, who had not dared to follow Hannibal's march across the Alps, had transported his troops by ship from Massalia to Pisa; there he had been reinforced by new levies brought to him by the prætor, and he was now posted on the banks of the Po, ready to meet the invaders. The latter, eager for the conflict, advanced almost to the Ticinus, on the left bank of the Po, when at last they met the van of the Roman army which was preparing to oppose them. At this juncture a victory was of the first necessity to the daring invader. Without a victory he could get no allies, and without allies he was lost. The affair of the Ticinus was but a skirmish, but the advantage clearly rested with Hannibal. Scipio retired across the Po, and two thousand Gauls at once passed over from the Roman camp to the Carthaginian. The champion of Africa seemed at one blow to have justified his audacious enterprise. Scipio had broken down the bridge over the Ticinus, and established himself at Placentia, where he was joined by the legions of Sempronius, who had marched by land the whole distance from Lilybæum to Messana in Sicily, and again from Rhegium to the Po. The courage of the Romans revived. They quitted their fortifications, and took up a position on the left bank of the Trebia. The forces on either side might be now about equal, and amounted probably to 40,000 men. Hannibal was eager for a pitched battle. Scipio had been wounded, and was not yet able to resume his command; Sempronius was longing for an opportunity of distinguishing himself. The combat was not long delayed. It was decided by the superior tactics of Hannibal, who posted his brother Mago with a chosen band in ambush, and threw the Romans into confusion by a timely onset on their rear.

Their main body made good its retreat to Placentia, but great numbers were cut off from it and destroyed on the banks of the Trebia, the little stream which gave its name to the famous battle of the day. The legions escaped in two directions, Scipio retiring upon Ariminum and the upper coast, Sempronius crossing the Apennines into Etruria.

Hannibal was left master of the Cisalpine, but did not receive from the Gauls the assistance he had hoped for. Early in the year 217 he crossed the Apennines into the valley of the Lower Arno, where he lost an eye through fatigue and sickness. The consular armies, now commanded by C. Servilius and C. Flaminius, still clung to their defences, the one at Ariminum, the other at Arretium.

Hannibal made many attempts to entice them into an engagement, but without success. At length he plunged boldly into the heart of Italy, where the rich plateau of the Middle Tiber would furnish his restless soldiers with supplies and booty. He carried on the war, wherever not restrained by views of policy, with unrelenting barbarity, destroying everything with fire and sword, and performing to the letter a vow he had made to give no quarter to a Roman. Flaminius was aroused at last to follow him. It was by the waters of the Lake Trasimenus that he came up with the terrible marauders. A fog prevailed at the time. The Romans were entrapped in a defile, from which their advanced troops released themselves with severe loss; but the main body was cut to pieces, and the consul slain on the field.

When the news of the disaster reached Rome, the senate, which had made light of their losses at the Ticinus and the Trebia, could no longer disguise the crisis. One consul was slain, the other was crouching behind the walls of Ariminum, 200 miles away, and the victor of Trasimenus was between him and Rome. The senate decided to appoint a dictator for the preservation of the state. Their choice fell on Q. Fabius Maximus, the chief of the party of the nobles. His master of the horse was Minucius Rufus, a favourite with the people. Prayers and sacrifices followed, and the gods were entertained at a Lectisternium. Meanwhile an army of four legions was speedily enrolled, and Fabius led it in quest of Hannibal wherever he might be found. For Hannibal, disappointed of aid from the Etruscans, had marched off into the country of

the Samnites instead of descending straight upon the city. He found himself actually in no less a strait than the Romans whom he had thrice defeated. He seems to have despaired of more effectual aid from the Samnites and Pelignians, and he now sought to stir up the discontent of the Greek population of Southern Italy. But even among them he found himself an object of fear and hatred, regarded as a barbarian who massacred his captives and fed his soldiers on their flesh. Even the Greeks felt that blood, as it is said, is thicker than water, and were more drawn to the kindred Romans than to the alien race of Tyre and Carthage. The people of Neapolis and Pæstum stripped the gold from their temples and sent it to the senate. Hiero of Syracuse, faithful as ever, sent money and stores to the utmost of his power. Once more Hannibal had made a terrible miscalculation.

The policy of Fabius was delay, and he obtained therefrom his illustrious sobriquet of 'cunctator.' He garrisoned the strong places: he cleared the country of supplies around the enemy's camp: he harassed him by constant movement; but he refused an engagement. At last Fabius began to close upon him in the valley of the Vulturnus, and seemed to have caught him in a trap. Then Hannibal showed his genius by the famous stratagem of driving cattle at night among the hills with blazing torches on their horns, and thus, by distracting the attention of his enemies, he managed to evade their blockade.

The Romans, mortified at this escape, began to murmur against the policy of delay. Their courage was indeed maintained by hopeful news from distant quarters, and Carthage seemed to have forgotten her great general in his difficulties.

The brief dictatorship of the cunctator expired all too soon. Fabius was replaced by two consuls. The nominee of the senate, Paulus Æmilius, was well disposed to follow the policy of his predecessor in command; but Terentius Varro represented the blind impatience of the people. The two consuls held command of their immense force of 80,000 foot and 6,000 horse on alternate days. They disagreed and paralysed each other's action, Varro constantly threatening, and Paulus as regularly declining to give battle to Hannibal, whom they had followed to the field he had himself chosen at Cannæ, on the borders of Apulia. The broad plain favoured the action of his Numidian cavalry. It was the day of Varro's command. The

Roman force was double the Carthaginian in number. In his blind confidence Varro advanced in a massive column, instead of extending his line to surround the weaker enemy. Hannibal, on the contrary, surrounded Varro. He allowed him to penetrate to his centre, and then enveloped his entangled and serried ranks with clouds of horse and light-armed infantry. The Romans were routed. The carnage was immense. No less than 45,000 of the Romans and their auxiliaries perished, and among them the consul Paulus, Minucius, the late master of the horse, 21 tribunes, 80 senators, and innumerable knights. Rome had received many terrible blows in this campaign, but the slaughter of Cannæ was the most disastrous of all.

Hannibal, though urged by his officers to advance, still hesitated to attack Rome. Cannæ was 200 miles from the city, and the route lay across many mountains and rivers, and was bordered by Roman colonies and garrisons. He knew the delays and perils he would have to encounter, and that his allies would insist upon lingering on the way to kill and burn and amass plunder. Even if arrived before the walls, he might ask himself, what profit would it be to him? Rome was not now to be taken by surprise, as in the time of Brennus. He resigned himself to the task of stirring up disaffection among the people of Southern Italy, while awaiting assistance from Carthage, and gradually providing the means required for laying siege to the city of 'the seven castles.'

The alarm of the Romans greatly exaggerated the amount of defection which actually occurred among the South Italians. The open country districts doubtless furnished the conqueror with supplies, but few only of the fortified places opened their gates to him, and he became constantly engaged, during the years that followed, in subduing their resistance.

The Romans, surprised to find themselves relieved from the peril which seemed immediately to threaten them, set to work with alacrity to raise new legions, sweeping into them not only proletarians, but also debtors, criminals, and even slaves. While this enrolment was in progress, Varro, the author of the disaster, returned in dejection to the city. Instead of disgracing, or even upbraiding, him, the senate went forth to meet him, and voted him their thanks 'for not having despaired of the republic.' They entrusted him again with a command, and sent him back at the head of a consular army to the very country which had been the scene of his discomfiture.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR—*continued.*

THE memorable battle of Cannæ was fought at the beginning of August, B.C. 216. No movements of importance took place on either side for the remainder of the year. Hannibal, who was in want of money, proposed to the Roman senate to ransom those of their countrymen who were prisoners in his hands, but his offers were steadfastly refused. At the close of the campaigning season he chose for his winter quarters the luxurious city of Capua, which opened her gates to him. The period of repose which followed was the turning-point in his career. The hardy veterans, who had marched so far and won so many victories under his banner, were demoralised by the seductions of a dissipated city. The iron bonds of discipline were relaxed, and the spell was broken which had seemed hitherto to render his arms invincible.

Meanwhile the Romans, threatened as they were by a formidable enemy in the heart of Italy, adopted the bold policy of striking at Carthage in various directions. They were no doubt aware that Hannibal, as the representative of the Barcine faction, had many enemies in Carthage. They calculated also, that the wealthy merchants of that city would be more eager to defend their markets, and their mines, wherever they were endangered, than to spend blood and treasure in support of Hannibal's rash adventure. It was of vast importance to them to prevent such support being sent to the invaders.

The two Scipios commanded the legions in Spain, and in the year 216 they drove back a Carthaginian army under Hasdrubal, which was advancing to reinforce Hannibal in Italy. They then crossed the Ebro and retook the fortresses captured from the Saguntines. The struggle which followed was an obstinate one, the Carthaginians making great efforts to retain a conquest so rich both in men and gold. In 212 the two Scipios suffered a defeat and were both slain. But in the following year P. Cornelius Scipio was sent to assume the command, and in the course of five years he overthrew the power of Carthage throughout the peninsula, and drove her armies back to Africa. In 215, king Hiero of Syracuse, the faithful

ally of Rome, died. This event was followed by the defection of Syracuse from the Roman cause, and the Carthaginians, trusting to the diversion so created, stopped the succours which Mago was leading to his brother Hannibal, and sent them to Sardinia instead. Thus supported, the Sardinians rose against Rome, and at the same time Philip of Macedon offered to come over and help the invaders of Italy. All these dangers were at once confronted and defied by the Roman state. The prætor Manlius destroyed the Carthaginian army landed in Sardinia. Philip, before he was ready to move, found himself anticipated by a Roman invasion of his own dominions. Marcellus, now for the third time consul, reduced Syracuse, after an obstinate defence, rendered memorable by the mechanical devices of Archimedes.

U.C. 542, B.C. 212.

We may now return to Hannibal in his winter quarters at Capua, B.C. 216–15. There he lay in ease and security, expecting the arrival of his brother Mago from Africa, or of Hasdrubal from Spain, and counting upon a large accession of force through the adhesion of the cities of Magna Græcia. Finding himself disappointed in both these expectations, he bestirred himself to attack the numerous strong places held by the Romans in his vicinity. In these attacks he met with many reverses. He was repulsed with heavy loss before Cumæ and Nola. Fabius crossed the Vulturnus and captured three places near to Capua. Sempronius Longus defeated a Carthaginian division in Lucania, and drove it southward into Bruttium; while Valerius and Marcellus chastised the revolted tribes of the Hirpini and the Samnites. To crown the misfortunes of Hannibal, a large body of Spanish foot and of Numidian horse deserted him, and went over to the Romans.

Abandoned by his countrymen, and ill-seconded by his friends, Hannibal still proved himself a dangerous foe. In the year 212 he balanced the conquest of Syracuse by Marcellus by himself taking Tarentum. Thence he burst away northward, passed by the Roman army which was actively pushing the siege of Capua, and showed himself before the walls of Rome. The citizens closed the gates and determined on a vigorous resistance. Part of the force before Capua was quickly despatched to their assistance; and Hannibal, who had no resources adequate to a serious siege, and whose threatened attack was mere bravado, had to retire from the dangerous position in which he

had placed himself. Capua soon after fell under the steadfast operations of the besiegers, and the consuls Fabius and Fulvius proceeded in cold blood to make a terrible example of the place which, once conquered, spared, indulged and cherished, had dared to revolt against the republic.

Capua, with a circuit of five or six miles round her walls, had boasted herself a rival of Rome. Capua was the home of all the highest art and luxury of Greek civilisation. But her citizens had none of the qualities which might have entitled them to defy the martial mistress of Italy, and when the support of Hannibal was withdrawn they quickly succumbed.

Seventy of her senators fell under the rods and axes of the lictors; three hundred men of birth and rank were thrown into chains; the whole people were sold as slaves. The city and its territory were declared to be Roman property, and were eventually repeopled by a swarm of Roman occupants. As a paltry Italian country town, it long retained its doubtful repute as the fair Circe whose charms had enervated the host of Hannibal.

The conquest of Capua was effected in 211, and in the same year a treaty was made with the people of Ætolia, by which they were secured against the aggressions of Philip of Macedon, and Rome gained a basis for her future operations on the eastern side of the Adriatic. In the same year too Marcellus celebrated a triumph on the Alban hill, and poured into Rome the plunder of Syracuse. In the following year Lævinus reduced Agrigentum, and Scipio the new Carthage. Rome contracted an alliance with Syphax, king of an African tribe on the western side of Numidia, who was glad of support against Carthage; and she also renewed terms of friendship with the Egyptian Ptolemy. The year B.C. 209 was marked by the capture of Tarentum, on which city the Romans vented their animosity by selling 30,000 of its people into slavery.

Hannibal continued to make energetic efforts to aid the unfortunate nations which had cast in their lot with his own, but neither from the east nor the west did he receive any aid himself. A solitary gleam of success was shed upon his arms in Apulia, where he surprised Marcellus, for the fifth time consul, and slew him in an ambush. At length Hasdrubal decided to leave Spain to its fate. He collected all his forces, and, eluding the watch maintained by Scipio, crossed the Pyrenees, and reached the Rhone far inland near its confluence with

the Saone. Thence he followed the same route that his brother had taken across the Alps, probably the pass of the Little St. Bernard, and, in conjunction with a strong force of Gaulish auxiliaries, advanced into the great plain of the Cisalpine. He seems to have met with no opposition from the natives, and the Roman generals, feeling themselves too weak to overthrow him, retired before him. He pursued his way along the upper coast, manifestly intending to effect a junction with Hannibal in the south.

The Romans had exerted themselves to the utmost to meet the danger, which had for some months threatened them. The great Marcellus was lost to them, and both Fabius and Fulvius were advanced in years and in the decay of their power. Lævinus had given offence to the ruling party in the senate and was passed over. The consuls chosen were C. Claudius Nero from among the Patricians, and M. Livius from among the Plebeians. Nero was detached to keep Hannibal in check in Bruttium, while Livius was charged to resist the new invader. To this task his strength proved unequal, and Hasdrubal marched on, leaving the garrison of Placentia behind him, crossed the Rubicon, captured Ariminum, found the line of the Metaurus undefended, and only paused when he came in front of the camp of Livius before the walls of Sena. From this position he sent horsemen to inform Hannibal of his arrival and of his line of march; but they fell into the hands of Nero, and the letters they bore betrayed his plans to the Roman general. Nero acted with promptitude and resolution. Making a feint to deceive his opponent, he suddenly quitted his camp with a portion of his force, and made a dash to the northward in aid of Livius, whom he urged to make an immediate attack. Hasdrubal, however, noticed that his enemy had been reinforced, and retired behind the Metaurus. There he was brought to bay and forced to give battle. A flank attack under Nero decided the combat. The invaders were completely routed, and Has-

U.C. 547, B.C. 207. drubal himself was slain in the medley. Nero now hastened back to the south and announced the Roman victory to Hannibal by throwing his brother's head into his camp. The Carthaginian must have felt that his last chance of maintaining himself in Italy had vanished; yet he obstinately held his ground at the extremity of the peninsula, and kept the armies of both consuls occupied for the ensuing year. The

victors of Metaurus celebrated a triumph amid the wild rejoicings of the people, now relieved from the danger which had been so imminent.

In Italy the new consuls did little to provoke the weary and dispirited hero, and the war languished. But in Spain the Roman cause was making great strides under Scipio, the ablest general the Romans had ever had. The withdrawal of Hasdrubal with so large a force from Spain, had reduced the strength of the Carthaginians there to a low ebb, and left them dependent upon the support of the fickle Iberians. In the year 206 they relinquished Spain to Scipio, leaving only the city of Gades in the keeping of Mago, and Scipio at once prepared to carry the war into Africa. He confirmed the compact already existing with the Numidian Syphax, and concluded a similar treaty with the Mauritanian Massinissa. The Roman senate hesitated to invade Africa while Hannibal still lingered in Italy; but in 205 they elected Scipio to be consul, and assigned him Sicily for his province, and prudently made peace with their enemies in Macedonia, before venturing on the bold enterprise to which their champion was urging them. Among the national heroes of Rome none was more renowned or more popular than P. Cornelius Scipio. The account of his exploits given by Livy perhaps derives its romantic character from the chronicle of some family panegyrist. Scipio, who was refined beyond the wont of his rough countrymen, affected the manners and the society of the Greeks. Popular among the Romans, he was far more so among their Italian allies, who regarded him as their great protector against Hannibal. It was said that when the senate jealously refused him the men and money requisite for his descent upon Africa, the Italian states united to furnish him with an armament, and urged him to abandon the Fabian policy, which, however advantageous to Rome, had brought prolonged misery upon the Italian peninsula. So great was his popularity that Roman writers constantly asserted that wherever he set his foot Scipio might have established himself as a king, and it is certain that, excepting Julius Cæsar, no leader ever won and retained such a hold upon the imagination of the Romans.

It has been already explained that the interference of Rome with Illyria brought her into contact with Macedonia. Philip of Macedon had entertained the envoys of Hannibal and consented

to aid him in his invasion of Italy, gladly assuming the part of defender of Greece against the threatened aggressions of Rome. The republic, in this strait, exerted the diplomatic astuteness for which it was remarkable. It made a treaty with the Ætolians, who were at war with their Græcian neighbours, according to which those lawless brigands were to be at liberty to seize and retain any Greek town which they could conquer, while Rome was to receive the slaves, the money, and the rest of the plunder, as her share of the spoil. At the same time it engaged in alliance with nations still further eastward, and contrived to keep Philip constantly occupied with the arms of Attalus, of Pergamus in Asia Minor, of Antiochus of Syria, and of the barbarous tribes on his northern frontier. Thus the aid he had promised to Hannibal was deferred from year to year, and at length, after the victory of Metaurus, the Macedonians finally abandoned him, and entered into bonds of amity with the successful republic.

Scipio, backed by the strong impulse of popular favour, did at last overcome the resistance of the senate, and was free to undertake his African enterprise; but in the outset his career was checked by the perfidy of Syphax, who, it was said, was seduced from his loyalty by the persuasions of the Carthaginian lady Sophonisba. It was evident that a long contest lay before Scipio, which would require all his constancy and resolution to bring to a successful issue. At this crisis a last effort was made to reinforce Hannibal. Mago abandoned Gades, which he could no longer hold, and, carrying with him all the wealth of that commercial capital, and all the troops he could muster, made for the Ligurian coast, where he hoped to secure the aid of the Insubrian and other Gaulish tribes. He was, however, checked, if not routed, by a Roman army, and himself disabled by a wound. The Carthaginian senate at once recalled him, and at the same time ordered Hannibal to quit Italy and hasten to the defence of his own country. Meanwhile Scipio, having landed in Africa in the year 204 B.C., began by laying siege to Utica. He seems to have found no disposition to revolt against the Carthaginian government either among their native levies or their mercenary troops. His solitary ally, Massinissa, was a fugitive with a few hundred horsemen, having been driven out of his own realm by Syphax. His advice, however, and his knowledge of the country were

U.C. 550.

probably of value to the Roman commander. Scipio achieved a complete victory over the African army opposed to him, and Massinissa followed up the blow by the capture of Syphax, which neutralised at once the Numidian alliance. But in his turn Scipio sustained a reverse in the loss of his fleet, and the stout resistance of the Uticans forced him to raise the siege of their town. He seems to have contemplated making peace with Carthage, and envoys were sent to Rome to arrange terms. But the Roman senate, exulting in the defeat of Mago and the recall of Hannibal, would listen to no such proposal.

Hannibal reluctantly quitted the land where he had won so many victories. Before doing so, he suspended in the temple of Juno, at the extreme point of the Lacinian promontory, a number of bronze tablets, on which were recorded, in the Punic and Greek languages, the chief events of the war. These were seen by Polybius, and may have served to correct the boastful narratives of the Roman annalists. He is reported to have massacred the Italian soldiers who refused to follow him into Africa; but the Romans were fond of representing him as a monster of perfidy and cruelty.

Hannibal sailed from Crotona in the autumn of 203. He departed unmolested, landed at Leptis, and spent the winter at Hadrumetum.

The best part of another year passed by before the two great generals confronted each other in order of battle. At length, on October 19, B.C. 202, the battle of Zama was fought on the banks of the river Bagradas, to the west of Carthage. Despite the superior forces of Hannibal's army and his array of eighty elephants, victory declared for the Romans. The Carthaginian horse, being disordered by the elephants, were routed and dispersed by the Numidian cavalry ranged on the side of Rome. The mercenaries gave way before the Roman legions, and came to blows with the Punic militia drawn up in support of them. A desperate struggle ensued, which was decided by the return of the Roman and Numidian cavalry to the field, who, falling upon the rear of the Carthaginian army, completed their discomfiture. The Punic host was not only routed, but destroyed. Hannibal escaped by flight, and Scipio was at once advanced to the highest pinnacle of military glory as the conqueror of the conqueror of Trasimenus and Cannæ.

There remained, however, a yet higher glory to achieve, and Scipio made it his own by his moderation and generosity. Carthage lay at last at the feet of Rome, and there were many who urged her entire destruction after the manner of Veii, or the treatment, little less severe, which had been inflicted on Capua and Tarentum. But Scipio withstood the clamour of his vengeful countrymen. He abstained from demanding the delivery of Hannibal into his hands, and allowed Carthage to retain her own laws and her African territory. He required her, however, to surrender all her ships of war but ten, and all elephants, to pay 10,000 talents in ten years, to give over 100 hostages between the ages of fourteen and thirty, and, what was worst of all, to engage to make no war, even in Africa, without the permission of the Roman people. Hannibal himself proved to his countrymen the necessity of submission. Massinissa was established in his kingdom as the ally and vigilant outpost of Rome at the gates of Carthage; and then Scipio returned with his army to Italy, traversed the southern half of the peninsula with an immense concourse of the people who had witnessed so many of his rival's victories, and entered Rome in the most splendid of triumphs.

Scipio received the illustrious surname of Africanus, being the first Roman (if we except the dubious instance of Coriolanus) who derived a title from the country he had conquered. His statue was placed, in triumphal robes and crowned with laurel, in the temple of Jupiter. Some acclaimed him as the offspring of Jove himself. It is said, indeed, that the people were ready to offer him the consulship for life. It seems that they were already far advanced towards the temper which, in later times, welcomed an imperial master. The moderation of Scipio was proof against this temptation. Perhaps it might have been better for Rome had he yielded to it. It seems possible that at this crisis a true patriot might have accepted the post of a constitutional sovereign, and done much to check the downward progress of public life, which became now marked and rapid. Such, at least, was the opinion set forth by Cicero at a later period, when the opportunity had passed away. The noble families of Rome had by this time developed and inherited a high character as citizens and patriots, and it may be that, under a limited monarchy, these virtues would have controlled the elements of evil germinating in the Roman

state. As events turned out, they were incapable of stemming the torrent of national corruption, which, in less than another half century, broke down every moral barrier.

CHAPTER XXII.

POLITICAL GOOD FORTUNE OF THE ROMAN STATE. CONDITION OF GREECE.

THE fortune of war is proverbial, and every warlike people has passed, perhaps more than once, through a crisis, when some slight turn of affairs might have changed success into irreparable ruin. The Romans were devout believers in Fortune: there was no deity to whom they paid their vows more assiduously. They dwelt fondly on their own enduring good luck, which had preserved them from destruction by the Etruscans under Porsena, by the Volscians under Coriolanus, by the Gauls under Brennus, by the Samnites under Pontius, by the Greeks under Pyrrhus, and now, lastly, by the Carthaginians under Hannibal. In each of the struggles here referred to their existence as a nation was at stake. In none did it come so near to ruin as in that which was decided by Scipio at Zama. The war with Hannibal was, in truth, the most critical epoch of Roman history.

We cannot doubt that the continued success of the Roman people and their final triumphs over the Gauls, the Italians, and the Africans, were really due to their own superiority of character. They had a strength and firmness of mind, which gave them confidence in themselves, and in one another. They had a sense of mutual dependence and of brotherly feeling. Above all, they were conspicuous for their power of self-command; and, side by side with this faculty, grew up the power to command others, and the consciousness that they were fit to rule mankind, and had a great destiny to accomplish. Thus they came to regard their own city as the natural centre of the universe, and to a genuine Roman prolonged absence from Rome was as terrible as death itself.

On the other hand, the Gauls were semi-barbarians, without

political ideas. The Etruscans were slaves driven to the field of battle by an effete and debased aristocracy. The Carthaginians were traders and speculators, who made the public interests subservient to private ends. Another principal secret of Roman success was their skill in adopting the races which they conquered, and infusing into them the spirit of their own national life. Every Roman colony became a nucleus round which there grew up a semi-Romanised population, eager to imitate the manners of Rome, and proud to accept from it the first rudiments of its national life. Every Latin colony, and, next to these, every Italian colony, receiving a certain foretaste of the Roman franchise, learnt to regard itself as an inchoate member of the race which ruled throughout the peninsula. It was no blind chance which saved Rome from Pyrrhus or Hannibal, but this system of assimilation, which rendered the Italian ally no less determined an opponent than the Roman himself. From the moment that the legions were enrolled into a permanent standing army, and quartered on the frontiers, the Gauls, the Etruscans, the Italians crowded into the ranks, eager to exchange their provincial insignificance for the excitement of a military career under the Roman standards. They were attracted by the hopes of plunder and of promotion. They might look for a share in the sack of cities and in the ravage of fields. The Italian cities and colonies were always ready to contribute both men and money for a raid on the riches of Capua and Tarentum, or on the slave-producing barrenness of Illyria or Spain. For the Roman officers war had peculiar charms, for the honours of successful warfare formed the surest road to civil distinctions, and the wealth obtained by plunder, when distributed among the voters in the Forum, contributed largely to the same result. While the bravest and most generous citizens were retained under the standards at a distance, the elections fell into the hands of the meaner class who were left in the city, and who soon learnt to sell the offices of the state to the richest candidates. These men dispensed the consulships and prætorships to whom they would, and the custom now became general of soliciting their favour by doles of bread, by gladiatorial shows, and by other extravagant entertainments. Thus there grew up, not only in Rome, but throughout Italy, a passion for war, which not even the losses and sacrifices of the Punic war could abate, and which no

wisdom or foresight on the part of consuls or dictators could control. The withdrawal of these hardy races from the labours of the field was of course destructive to the ancient system of agriculture in Italy. A multitude of small holdings, each worked by its free owner and his family, had existed. In the course of three generations, from the invasion of Pyrrhus to the dislodgement of Hannibal, these became transformed into a few score of large properties, tended by slaves under the control of a hired bailiff. In spite of the democratic forms of the Roman constitution, circumstances were throwing the power more and more into the hands of a small class of wealthy and privileged persons. These magnates maintained their position partly by corruption and partly by force, but as yet they were, for the most part, animated by a spirit of patriotism, with a not unworthy pride in themselves, their ancestors, and their country. They still appealed to illustrious examples, and believed in those examples themselves. They were still, on the whole, a virtuous aristocracy; but their virtue began to tremble to its fall, and in the course of another half century the demoralisation of the Romans became complete, and inflicted the most grievous sufferings upon the world around them.

Heavy as were the losses endured by Rome in repelling the invasion of Hannibal, her military strength was soon renovated by the admission of the subject races to her legions. The labours of the field were transferred to captives taken in war. Debts contracted by the state were easily paid by assignments of land. She continued to found colonies wherever the native population had been swept away or enfeebled. She drew into her own ports the commerce of Carthage and of the states with which Carthage had traded, and this commerce received at this time an enormous impulse from the suppression of piracy and the pacification of the great highway of the Mediterranean, especially in its western waters.

The Greeks had watched the contest with anxiety. They were well aware that whichever nation were victorious, its greed of empire would not long leave them unmolested. The East was covered, so to say, with the ruins of the empire of Alexander, which had been so hastily built up that it was unable to cohere for a single century. In Asia ten states had been formed out of the provinces first occupied by the Seleu-

cides. Thrace had regained its independence under its own native princes. Egypt still remained a separate kingdom, ruled by the Ptolemies with the swords of Greek mercenaries. The continent and the islands of Greece proper had returned to their ancient condition, forming a cluster of small republics and tyrannies, which had no unity or cohesion, and whose policy was chiefly guided by mutual jealousy. Sparta perhaps retained the most of her old martial spirit, but the Spartans had dwindled in numbers to a paltry tribe of seven hundred.

The Achæan league, a confederation of petty states on either side of the Gulf of Corinth, had acquired some political weight, but the people of Corinth were content to look on, while their town was occupied by a Macedonian garrison, and their citadel by another of Achæans. Philip of Macedon still swayed a great military power, but he was hampered by the jealousy of Attalus, king of Pergamus, and of Ptolemy, king of Egypt. Rhodes aimed at no dominion on land, but maintained an active commercial life. The Ætolians, a mere nation of bandits, formed a centre of lawless anarchy, a thorn in the side of all their neighbours.

At Thebes political life was quite extinct, and the case of Athens, once the foremost city of the world, was not much better. Her navy was limited to three vessels: her commerce, on which her greatness had depended, was at a standstill: with the decline of liberty her social activity had become paralysed, and the enervated descendants of the ancient free men of Hellas were content to live upon the stores accumulated by their ancestors, and, as these became exhausted, to perish with them.

Macedonia was undoubtedly the most warlike and vigorous of the Greek communities. Her people were still proud of the victories they had gained under their great conquerors, and her monarchs still dreamed of reviving the glories of Philip and of Alexander. But the nation was poor, and depressed by long subjection to tyrants: men of genius were hardly to be found. The phalanx—the deep and closely-serried array, which had broken the looser order of the Greeks, and scattered the incoherent masses of the Persians, was no match for the long but well-supported lines of the Roman legions. The weight of its attack was lost on an organised force of cohorts and maniples which could yield and re-form, wheel to right and left, and skirmish in front or rear; and its power of enduring resistance

might be worn out by Roman perseverance. In her campaign against the Greeks and Macedonians, Rome was enabled to dispense with large armies of many legions. Her smaller forces were more quickly manœuvred and more easily provisioned, and her blows were proportionally more sudden and effective.

Moreover, Macedonia was enfeebled by the wide extension of her dominion. She maintained garrisons in many scattered positions throughout Greece—in Thessaly, in Eubœa, in Opus and Locris, Phocis and Elatea, at Corinth, and in Arcadia. She held many of the Greek islands and numerous towns and posts in Asia Minor and in Thrace, notably those on the Propontis and the Bosphorus, which guarded the passage between the two continents. This condition of things made her the object of jealous hostility both in Europe and Asia, while her military force was dissipated over too wide a circuit. To consolidate the forces of such an empire would have required the genius of another Alexander; but, in truth, under no circumstances could she have withstood the steady advance of the Roman power, which was now brought into contact with her through the agency of the Ætolians.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GREECE LIBERATED BY THE ROMANS FROM THE MACEDONIAN POWER.

TEN years before the conclusion of the struggle with Hannibal, war had been declared against Macedonia; but no serious campaign had been undertaken, and after a time these hostilities were suspended. Philip profited by the interval to aid the Carthaginians with a contingent of 4,000 men, who fought against Rome at Zama.

Now that Carthage was reduced to submission, the senate determined to chastise Philip, and decreed the renewal of the war against him. In the year 200 B.C. P. Sulpicius Galba and C. Aurelius Cotta were appointed consuls; and steps were taken to provide the first of these with an army with which to conquer his new province of Macedonia. But the people, who

were jealous of the power and privileges now exercised by the nobles, professed to be weary of war, and in spite of distributions of land, sumptuous games, and largesses of corn and money, they refused to do as they were bid, and voted in the comitia of centuries against the war. The tribune Bæbius undertook to make a criminal charge against the senate; but his office no longer commanded the respect it once did. The fathers abused and insulted him, and, through the consul, once more urged their policy upon the commons. The centuries voted a second time, and now ratified the decision of the real masters of the commonwealth. This transaction shows how completely, under the military *régime* of the preceding century, the aristocracy of Rome had recovered its mastery over the state.

The Romans were in fact about to plunge, little as they suspected it, into a career of eastern conquest, which did not stop till it led them to the Caspian and the Persian Gulf. They were jealous perhaps of Greece; anxious to deprive Carthage of a possible future ally. But their main incentive to this war was the greed of plunder and the lust of dominion, which had taken possession of nobles and people alike. The marvellous sweep of Alexander over Asia had fired the imagination of mankind. This had stirred up Carthage to aim at the conquest of a western empire. This had stirred Pyrrhus, and might at any moment stir Philip to a similar enterprise. The same idea was doubtless vaguely present to the Roman mind, impelling them too to push forward their ever-growing empire. A pretext was easily found. The Athenians were determined to shake off the Macedonian yoke, and they applied to the Romans to help them. Their petition was strongly supported by Lævinus, the commander of the legions on the Macedonian border, who reported how he had been insulted and defied by Philip. 'You think,' said the latter to Æmilius, 'you may do anything with me because you are a young man, and a fine young man, and a Roman! But if you want war you shall have it.' Such language was well calculated to determine the policy of the vacillating Roman populace.

The Gauls in the North of Italy, and the Bruttians in the South, required still to be held in check, and not more than 20,000 men could be spared to send across the Adriatic. This force, however, sufficed in the course of two campaigns, B.C.

200 and 199, to free Athens; with this exception, no important success was achieved.

In 198 T. Quinctius Flamininus was chosen consul by the senate and forced upon the popular assembly, in spite of the fact that he was by law ineligible, not having served any of the inferior magistracies. At the head of a strong reinforcement he started promptly to assume his command, and at once began to act with vigour. Marching with all his forces across the Macedonian frontier, he compelled Philip to give battle, and after a hard-fought struggle the latter was forced to retreat with his army into his stronghold at Pella. The Roman leader now invited the support of the states of Southern Greece: many of them gave their adhesion, though some held back. Flamininus, however, proclaimed that the general vote was in favour of the Romans, and declared himself the protector of the Achæan league and champion of the liberties of Greece. At the end of his year of consular office his power was prolonged with the title of proconsul, and being anxious to have the credit of a peaceful settlement of affairs, he invited Philip to a conference at the pass of Thermopylæ. The Ætolians tried to irritate and insult the Macedonian tyrant, but Flamininus soothed him and persuaded him to send ambassadors to the Roman senate. The very first demand was that Philip should withdraw from the fortresses of Demetrias, Chalcis, and Corinth, which he had vauntingly called the 'fetters of Greece:' his agents declined even to discuss such a proposition, and the negotiation fell to the ground.

But the other states of Greece were now more disposed to recognise and to side with the Roman power. In 197 Flamininus advanced to Thermopylæ, supported by the Greek auxiliaries and a body of Ætolian cavalry. Philip shrank from meeting him in the hill country, and retired before him into the plain of Thessaly. There, at a place called Cynoscephalæ, he waited for him, and a great battle was fought. The Macedonian army was disposed in two phalanxes, each of 8,000 men. The first of these broke through the lines of the legions, which, however, closed in upon it again with no material loss; the other was attacked while in process of formation and scattered to the winds. The victory of the Romans was so decisive that Philip sued for peace, and was glad to accept from the Roman senate easier terms than he could have obtained from his ene-

mies nearer home. It was not the policy of Rome to crush men who might hereafter be useful to her as allies. Negotiations for a settlement of the numerous states and cities of Greece occupied the ensuing year, and in B.C. 196, at the Isthmian games, at which the representatives of every Grecian community attended, it was proclaimed with sound of trumpet that the Roman senate, and T. Quinctius, its general, had liberated the whole of Greece from the power of Macedonia. The Greeks threw themselves into a phrenzy of joy, crowning their self-styled liberator with garlands, and unheeding the obvious fact that they had but exchanged one master for another. Athens was now established as a free state, with the islands of Delos and Paros added to her small dominion. Corinth was restored to the Achæan league, and the provinces of Thessaly, Epirus, and Illyria were broken up into a number of petty independent republics. Scattered over Asia Minor lay many Greek communities nominally subject to Ptolemy, king of Egypt; and while Philip was engaged hand to hand with the Romans, Antiochus, king of Syria, seized the opportunity to annex these Greek settlements. He now threatened to cross the Hellespont and attack Philip, and at the same time sent envoys to Flamininus to negotiate for the peaceable retention of his conquests. The Roman general in reply sent orders to Antiochus to relinquish every Greek city he had seized, and to give up the idea of crossing over into Europe. He then turned his attention to affairs in another quarter. Sparta had fallen under the tyranny of Nabis, and had become more and more alienated from the rest of Greece, to which she properly belonged. Argos had also submitted to the same tyrant. Flamininus now stirred up the Greeks to curtail the power of this upstart. The Achæan league, at his instance, declared war, and he led their forces side by side with the legions to the gates of Sparta. Nabis was soon reduced to extremities. Argos was taken from him, as well as a portion of his own territory; but in spite of the protests of the Achæans, Rome as usual refused to destroy one adversary for the advantage of another.

Flamininus had now exercised the imperium as consul and pro-consul for nearly four years, and the time was come for him to retire. He was instructed to withdraw all the Roman garrisons, and to leave the Greeks at liberty to govern them-

selves. He summoned the states to a general assembly and took a solemn leave of them, exhorting them to use well the gift of freedom conferred upon them by Rome. The scene was one of great excitement, and Flamininus himself was moved to tears of emotion. In Quinctius Flamininus and Scipio Africanus, two of the noblest types of Roman greatness, we find sternness and even ferocity in action, combined with remarkable tenderness of feeling: we also find that personal ambition was subordinated in them to a generous spirit of patriotism. No two Roman heroes more justly deserved the triumph, the reward of patriotic virtue, than the conqueror of Hannibal and the liberator of the Greeks. U.C. 560, B.C. 194.

Meanwhile Greece, so generously emancipated by her Roman conquerors, enjoyed a period of repose, a respite from the Macedonian tyranny which had oppressed her for 150 years. She had recovered strength and self-command enough to control the jealous ambition of her several states, now united in one political system. The numbers she could maintain in her own barren and mountainous country were but small, but under the protection of Rome she might revive her old commercial industry, which had made her rich and populous. The destruction of her works of art might now be stayed, and she might hope to acquire, by the charms of her art and of her literature, a powerful influence over the rougher and stronger race which was beginning to dominate the Western world. In order to enjoy these advantages it was necessary that she should be submissive; power was now beyond her grasp; and those were her best friends and truest patriots who understood this necessity, and controlled their own and their countrymen's impatience.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE ROMANS EXPEL ANTIOCHUS FROM ASIA MINOR. SPAIN AND THE CISALPINE REDUCED TO ROMAN PROVINCES.

Now that Greece and Macedonia lay at the feet of Rome, there remained no barrier of importance between her and Asia, and her conflict with the Eastern powers could not be long delayed. Across the narrow waters of the Ægean Sea, in the ancient city

of Ephesus, sat Antiochus, king of Syria. Surrounded with all the luxury and magnificence of an Oriental despot, exulting in his title of '*the Great*,' glorying in the success of his arms against the Bactrians and the Indians, he paid no heed to the summons of Flamininus to withdraw from Asia Minor. On the contrary, he dreamed of an empire to rival that of Cyrus or of Xerxes. Throwing his troops across the Hellespont, he advanced into the heart of Greece, and it was not till he had traversed Thessaly and reached Thermopylæ that he was encountered and driven back across the sea by the consul Acilius, B.C. 191. In the following year the Roman legions under Scipio Africanus and his brother Lucius first set foot in Asia. Philip, eager for the discomfiture of Antiochus, was the good friend and faithful ally of the Roman leaders. The forces of Antiochus were numerous, and they were commanded by no less a general than the veteran Hannibal, who had found a refuge at the Ephesian court, and had doubtless used all his influence to rouse the hostility of his new master against the Romans, whom he so much detested. But even Hannibal could make nothing of the wretched Asiatics that marched under his standards. They were scattered like chaff before the wind by the hardy warriors of Rome, fresh from the schools of Gaulish and Spanish warfare. The Romans were always victorious over Asiatics, and in craft and policy were little if at all inferior to them. Antiochus was soon reduced to sue for peace. The answer was that he must evacuate Asia Minor and retire behind the Taurus. He preferred to risk a great battle. This was fought and won by Lucius Scipio at Magnesia. In it 30,000 Romans overthrew 60,000 Asiatics, and pretended to have slain 50,000 of them, with the loss of only a few hundreds on their own side. On that day the fate of Asia was sealed. Antiochus at once yielded all that was required of him: he renounced all claim to Asia Minor, surrendered his chariots, his elephants, and his treasures, and gave up his fleet to be burnt by the conquerors; he would doubtless have given up Hannibal also, but the Carthaginian had already made good his escape.

U.C. 564, B.C. 190.

The immediate result of the defeat of Antiochus was the formation of a kingdom of Asia. Eumenes, king of Pergamus, had sided with the Romans, and he accepted the position of a puppet king, nominally the ally, really the subject of Rome, over the provinces which stretch from the Hellespont to Mount

Taurus. The native chiefs and people were content to accept his rule, hoping no doubt to find in it some better guarantees for peace and security than they had for a long time enjoyed. The Roman senate began already to flatter itself with the spectacle of the kings who attended servilely upon it. Meanwhile in the far East, the nations dwelling on the Euphrates, and even the remote court of Persia, heard with awe the name of the Roman republic, whose empire now extended to the frontier of Cilicia.

In 189 B.C., Manlius and Fulvius succeeded the Scipios as consuls. They were probably the first of the Roman commanders who ventured to declare war without orders from home. Manlius attacked and defeated the Galatians, the most warlike tribe of Asia Minor; while Fulvius treated the Ætolians with equal severity,—and thus secured the homeward march of the victorious legions; though not a little of their enormous booty was snatched from them by an insurrection of Thracians on their flank. The Romans kept faith with Greece, and withdrew all their armies across the Adriatic, content with the renown of their invincible legions throughout the East. In the year 189, Lucius Scipio enjoyed a military, and Æmilius a naval triumph over Antiochus, and Scipio assumed the title of Asiaticus, in emulation of his brother the conqueror of Africa.

It must not be supposed that the activity of the Romans was confined during the wars of Greece and Asia to the eastern quarter of the world. Both in Italy and in Spain the legions were all this time fully employed. The warlike tribes of Spain, which had gladly helped the Romans against Carthage, showed little disposition to submit quietly to their new masters. Beyond the mines of gold and silver which the Phœnician traders had discovered, there was little indeed for the Romans to gain in the barren mountains of Spain. These mines too were few and difficult of access, and even the Romans must have known that it was cheaper to trade for their products than to fight for them. We can only attribute the pertinacity with which Rome continued to assail the liberties of Spain to a love of fighting for its own sake, and a dogged determination to impose the yoke of her authority. Disastrous as were these wars in many respects, they still served the policy of Rome as a splendid school of military training both for her soldiers and her generals, and

continued to do so during the 200 years through which the struggle lasted.

In the year 200 B.C., after the defeat of Hannibal and the conquest of Carthage, the Romans might consider themselves masters of the Iberian peninsula. They occupied all the chief cities on the coast, and the rude tribes of the interior acknowledged their supremacy. But when the attempt was made to organise the whole territory as a Roman province, the natives broke out into a general insurrection (B.C. 197), and the prætor Sempronius was slain. With the Celtiberians of the mountain region were united the Lusitanians of the West, and the Vaccæans and Vettones of the East. Without cities, without commissariat, without military organisation of any kind, and without allies, they yet maintained a guerilla warfare, which long defied the power of Rome. Victory after victory was gained by the discipline and endurance of the legions, with little result except the devastation of the country. M. Porcius Cato was conspicuous among the Roman leaders for his ruthless severity. He could boast that he had dismantled 400 strongholds between the Pyrenees and the Bætis. A Cnæus Scipio, a Fulvius, a Quinctius, a Calpurnius, are named among the victors in this petty warfare, and Sempronius Gracchus, whose sons became afterwards so illustrious, was the destroyer of 300 forts. He also made some efforts to persuade his barbarian enemy to adopt a more civilised life, and perhaps deserves the credit of a milder policy.

From the year 178 B.C., Spain might be regarded as conquered a second time; but meanwhile Rome had another task of the same kind to accomplish in repressing the outbreaks of the Italian Gauls.

In the year 200 the Carthaginian Hamilcar headed a revolt of 40,000 Gauls, who burnt Placentia and attacked Cremona. This city was, however, saved by the prætor Furius, who defeated the insurgents with heavy loss. Three years later this war was still of sufficient importance to occupy both consuls with their entire armies; and it was by the treachery of their own countrymen that the Gauls were finally overcome.

The great Scipio brought the war to a close by the reduction of the Boii, whom he drove out to seek a new home on the banks of the Danube.

We may now consider the Gauls of the Cisalpine as finally

subdued, and their country reduced to the form of a Roman province. Colonies were established or revived at Placentia, Cremona, Bononia, Mutina, and Parma; while those planted at Pisa and Lucca kept guard over the still unsubdued Ligurians. Multitudes of Gauls were at this time transplanted into Samnium and other depopulated tracts of Central Italy. In B.C. 177 disturbances occurred in Corsica and Sardinia, which were controlled by Sempronius Gracchus, and so many of the natives were sold into slavery, that 'Sards to sell' became a cant phrase for anything that was cheap and worthless.

CHAPTER XXV.

MACEDONIA, GREECE, AND AFRICA REDUCED TO PROVINCES. THE THIRD PUNIC WAR. CARTHAGE IS DESTROYED.

THE year of the city 571, B.C. 183, is rendered notable by the deaths of three men of great mark in history.

Hannibal, when he escaped out of the hands of Antiochus, took refuge, first in Crete, and afterwards with Prusias, king of Bithynia. Here he at length ceased from his fruitless intrigues against Rome, and busied himself in obscurity with the affairs of his new patron. But once more Rome demanded, with a threat of war, that he should be given up. Prusias sent troops to arrest him, and finding no possibility of escape, Hannibal swallowed the poison which he had kept concealed about his person. Such an end was tragic, but it was at least dignified, and it saved him from the still lower intrigues and greater obscurity into which he must have fallen had his life been prolonged. It is plain that his part was played out. He had undertaken a task beyond the strength of any one man. Hero as he was, he contended against a nation of heroes, and his defect of judgment led to inevitable failure. He has often been compared with the first Napoleon: the one seems by general assent to be regarded as the most eminent of ancient, the other of modern commanders. In estimating his career and character we must bear in mind that everything the Romans wrote of him was tinged with deep and ignoble prejudice. To his credit as a soldier we must place the marvellous skill and

courage which enabled him to maintain so long his invasion of Italy with means apparently quite inadequate. On the other hand, as a politician he failed signally. His scheme of uniting all the races of Italy against Rome was grandly conceived; but it came to nought; and by this want of political mastery the enterprise of his life was ruined.

Hannibal died in discomfiture and exile. The same year witnessed the decease of his great rival Scipio Africanus, who had lived long enough to see the unbounded authority he once enjoyed fade away under the fickle breath of popular favour. His treatment of Antiochus was denounced as too lenient, and his brother Lucius was charged with malversation in his accounts. Publius indignantly tore up the papers presented to him against his brother, but was himself promptly charged with arrogance and incivism. Lucius was heavily fined. The great Africanus, on being accused before the people, disdained to reply except by recounting his own signal services. Reminding the people that the day of his trial was the anniversary of the victory of Zama, he called upon them to desist from this miserable prosecution, and to march with him to the Capitol, there to return thanks to the immortal gods. This bold stroke succeeded, and the accusation fell to the ground; but Scipio retired to his seat at Liternum in Campania, refused again to visit Rome, and directed that even his remains should not be taken back there for interment.

In the same year died Philopœmen, who both for his valour and his statesmanship deserves to be called 'the last of the Greeks.' Chosen eight times for their general by the Achæan league, he exerted all his influence to keep the Greeks united among themselves, and to restrain them from provoking the irresistible power of Rome. He lived in usefulness and honour to his seventieth year. Then he became entangled in a quarrel with the Messenians, and falling into the hands of a personal enemy, he was treated with great indignity, and compelled at last to swallow hemlock. In vain did the Greeks rise to avenge his death and do honour to his remains. The last of their heroes had perished, and it is to their credit that they showed an adequate sense of his value.

The years which next followed formed a proud period in Roman annals. The unimportant wars which still continued in Spain and Istria were crowned with unbroken success. But

now for the first time the kings and potentates of the earth began to send envoys to Rome, and to court the people whom they recognised as their patrons and protectors. From the Asiatic kingdoms of Bithynia, of Cappadocia, of Armenia; from the commonwealths of Achaia, Sparta, and Rhodes; from the ancient realm of Egypt, embassies thronged the streets of Rome and crowded the antechambers of the senate house. The Romans became intoxicated with this wondrous tide of glory and good fortune; and the policy of moderation which had spared the weakness of Greece, and borne with the petulance of Macedonia, now gave place to ruthless ambition and greed of plunder. Philip of Macedon had allowed his son Demetrius to be educated at Rome, but on his return home the youth became an object of jealousy to his father, who soon sacrificed him to the interests of his brother Perseus. U.C. 575, B.C. 179. Philip not long after followed him to the grave, leaving in Perseus an able and high-spirited successor.

Perseus anticipated the impending struggle, and quietly prepared for it. At length (B.C. 170), the storm burst upon him. On the suggestion of Eumenes, king of Pergamus, he was charged with injuring the allies of Rome. War was declared, and in the first encounter the consul Licinius was worsted. Perseus still offered to make terms, but was told that Rome would never negotiate with an armed enemy—he must make unconditional submission. He determined on a desperate resistance, and for two years made head against his enemy. In B.C. 168 Æmilius Paulus won the battle of Pydna, and crushed the Macedonian power.

The whole country submitted at once, and Perseus, in the vain hope of mercy, surrendered himself to the Romans. After marching in the triumphal procession of his conqueror, he was imprisoned, and a few years later died, not without suspicion of foul play. The Romans transported all the chief people of Macedonia into Italy, and divided the conquered country into four distinct republican governments, whose inhabitants were forbidden to intermarry. It was not till seventeen years later (B.C. 151), that an unsuccessful revolt gave them the opportunity of finally destroying the independence of Macedonia and converting it into a Roman province.

After the war with Perseus was ended, Rome made a stringent inquiry into the conduct of those allied states which

had seemed to sympathise with the last asserter of independence. Eumenes was insulted and threatened. Rhodes was selected for punishment, and deprived of her continental territory in Asia Minor. In Epirus, the gallant Æmilius Paulus was made the instrument of a ruthless devastation.

It was impossible to fix on the Achæan government any act of disloyalty. And yet their time too was come. On the evidence of a traitorous informer many eminent men were charged with having held communication with Perseus. They were required to defend themselves from the charge at Rome. Once in Italy, they were detained without trial, and placed under surveillance in distant provincial towns.

Polybius the historian happened to be one of these unfortunate hostages, and after seventeen years of exile, he and his fellow-prisoners were restored to liberty, through the friendship of Scipio Æmilianus and the advocacy of Cato the censor.

This unjust treatment of the Grecian notables was a presage of the fate reserved for their country. In the fluctuating course of a democratic government, Achaia fell under the rule of an intemperate faction, forgetful of their complete dependence on the Roman power. A quarrel with Sparta led to the interference of Roman commissioners who came over to settle the dispute. They were treated with insolence by the Achæans, and replied by commanding that Sparta, Argos, and Corinth should be released from the Achæan league. The demagogues promptly organised a revolt; they set the slaves at liberty and armed them, they forced war contributions from an unwilling people. Metellus offered them easy terms of submission, but this last chance of averting ruin from their country was thrown aside, and a paltry force was sent to occupy the pass of Thermopylæ. These misguided patriots could make no stand against the legions, and were swept away with great slaughter. Metellus advanced without further impediment to Corinth. There, his term of office having expired, he transferred the command to his successor Mummius, a man of a rude and harsh nature. The taking of Corinth by this barbarian was a scene of horrors.

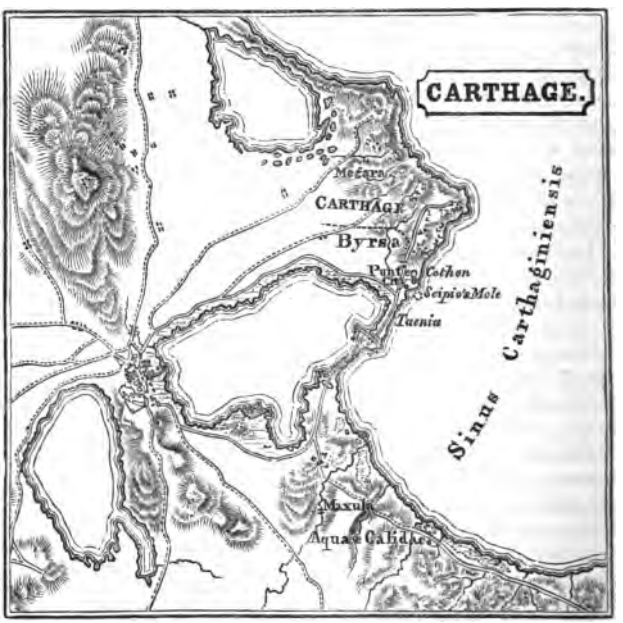
The amount of valuable plunder acquired by the Romans was enormous. Gold in abundance was recovered from the ruins, but the master-pieces of Greek art, the bronzes more precious than gold, the pictures, the statues, were ruthlessly

destroyed and lost to the world for ever. Corinth was replanted as a Roman colony a hundred years later, and rose once more to eminence. But with the sack of Corinth the history of Greece, the classic land of genius and of freedom, comes to an end. Thenceforth she sinks into the position of a Roman province. The same year, 146, which witnessed the fall of Greece was signalised also by the destruction of Carthage. Ever since her great defeat at Zama, the existence of Carthage, Rome's greatest rival, had been a protracted agony. Massinissa and the Numidians were free to insult her, and to encroach upon her territory; and she dared not retaliate, but by sending complaints to Rome. The senate entertained these complaints and promised redress, but nothing came of it. At length Cato was sent as envoy to Carthage to inquire into her wrongs. On his return he denounced her before the senate as too powerful a neighbour to be suffered to stand erect. Plucking some fresh figs from the folds of his robe, 'This fruit,' he exclaimed, 'has been brought from Carthage—so nigh to us is a city so strong and so prosperous—Carthage must be destroyed.'

U.C. 608, B.C. 146.

Cato was at this time in the full ripeness of authority and influence. He was a constant speaker in the senate, and every one of his speeches ended with the words 'Carthage must be destroyed.' The senate was not unwilling to follow his guidance. In the year 149 a pretext for war was found in the fact that the Carthaginians had taken up arms against Massinissa. The Roman senate promptly declared war against Carthage, and at the same moment despatched an army of 80,000 men under the consuls Marcius Censorinus and Manilius Nepos, who were privately instructed not to desist till Carthage lay in ruins. The threatened people, aware of their inability to cope with Rome, sued abjectly for peace and were ready to consent to any terms. Called upon to send 300 hostages of noble birth to Sicily, they obeyed. Next, in compliance with the consul's orders, they surrendered all their arms and engines of war: 200,000 complete sets of armour were conveyed in waggons to the Roman camp. Censorinus praised their readiness to submit, and announced that now it only remained for them to quit Carthage, which the Romans purposed to destroy, but that they were at liberty to build for themselves another city on any site ten miles inland. This cruel command overwhelmed the

envoys with despair. On their return to their city, all who had counselled submission were attacked by the people; resistance to the death was resolved on, and the most heroic efforts were made to replace the surrendered arms, and to put the city in a state of defence. The very women are said to have cut off their long hair to furnish bow strings for the archers. These gallant efforts were not without result. For three whole years



the Carthaginians stood at bay behind their walls. Hasdrubal, who commanded their forces in the field, held his own successfully against the Roman consul. But the siege was doggedly maintained, and in the course of it the Roman army more than once owed its safety to the activity of a young officer, Scipio Æmilianus, the son of Æmilius Paulus, who had been adopted by Scipio, the son of Africanus. In 147, Scipio visited Rome to offer himself a candidate for the ædileship, but so high did

his reputation stand, that the people elected him consul, though he was not yet of legal age to hold that office, and assigned him Africa for his province. Scipio set to work with alacrity to improve the discipline of his troops, and to reduce the hostile city; but it was no easy task which lay before him. Another year elapsed before he succeeded in effectually blockading the place, and when famine began to tell upon the defenders, he slowly fought his way into one quarter after another, till only the citadel, called Byrsa, remained untaken. This fortress also fell before long. Scipio spared the lives of the enemies, but gave up the city to be sacked, and then levelled it with the ground. The Punic territory was soon reorganised as a Roman province under the name of Africa, and Scipio on his return enjoyed a triumph, and took the title of Africanus. In this same year, which marks the disappearance from history of the Grecian and Carthaginian states, the secular games were for the fourth time celebrated at Rome. U.C. 608, B.C. 146.

During the years which followed, Spain was the only country which gave exercise to the Roman arms. Successive prætors continued slowly and painfully to reduce it under authority. For eight years the Lusitanian chief Viriathus constantly defied the Roman generals, and subjected them to many defeats. At length the consul Cæpio infamously bribed three of his officers to murder him in his sleep. After his death the resistance of the Spaniards centred in the heroic little town of Numantia, near the sources of the river Douro. Though its people numbered but 8,000 armed men, they repeatedly worsted successive Roman consuls with armies amounting to 30,000. At length, in B.C. 134, Scipio the conqueror of Carthage was chosen consul, and sent to bring this troublesome war to a close. As before, his first efforts were directed to improving the discipline and the endurance of his troops. Then with a force of 60,000 men he blockaded Numantia, and at last reduced it by famine. Most of its brave citizens had already perished by the sword. The few that survived were either brought to Rome to grace the victor's triumph, or sold as slaves on the spot. Numantia was razed to the ground, and never again rose from its ruins; but the gallant defence made by its people against overwhelming odds deserves to be commemorated to the end of time.

CHAPTER XXVI.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. INTERNAL GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC.

THE power of Rome was now paramount in the four great peninsulas which project into the Mediterranean, together with its principal islands, while her authority was recognised at almost every point of the coast line. Italy, the centre of this power, was governed by the prætor and other magistrates of Rome. Spain, Greece, and Asia Minor were reduced substantially to the form of provinces, as were also the islands of the Tyrrhene, the Ionian, and the Ægean seas. The province of Africa comprised the old dominion of Carthage, on either side of which the kingdoms of Egypt and Numidia enjoyed a nominal independence. At the eastern end of the Mediterranean, the Jews were in alliance with the republic, Rhodes was still indulged with freedom, and in Asia a few petty states were allowed to maintain their native governments. Illyria offered little temptation to Roman cupidity, but the subjection of Macedonia was fully assured. In the south of Gaul the cities of Massilia and Narbo were in alliance with the senate, and were shortly to be used as the foundation stones of a Roman province of Gaul beyond the Alps. The first, a most flourishing centre of commerce, was a colony of Phocæan Greeks from Ionia; the other was a city of native growth and a centre of local civilisation.

The government of a Roman province was in fact a military occupation. Year by year at first, in later times every third year, a proconsul or a proprætor came from Rome to command it. He was supported by one or more legions with numerous auxiliary battalions, and on all points his word was law. Only to the Roman senate was he responsible, and on his return his quæstor was required to submit a report of his proceedings, which might be disavowed, but so long as the interests of the republic had not suffered he was tolerably safe. In administering justice to the provincials, he was restricted only by his own edict issued on assuming the government. The provinces were organised on the model already described in the case of Etruria and Samnium. The various communities were treated with varying degrees of favour. Some retained their old local

government. Some received the Latin or Italian franchise. Some forfeited their land to the domain of the republic. Tolls and customs were levied, and a tax upon the produce of the land furnished a constant revenue to the state. The wealth arising from this source on the conquest of Macedonia enabled the conquerors to remit the land tax from the entire soil of Italy.

The rule of the proconsuls and their cohort of subordinate officials was one of tyranny and spoliation. Neither the property, the honour, nor even the lives of the provincials were secure from them; and their rapacity was rather encouraged by the senate, as it tended to weaken the conquered race and cut the sinews of future revolt. Perhaps it was fortunate that so many of these spoliators took delight in seizing the choicest works of ancient art, and carrying them to Rome. The provincials, who understood the value of these treasures, groaned over their loss, and scoffed at their ignorant spoilers; but it turned out that the metropolis of the world was the safest receptacle for these precious relics. Meanwhile in Spain and in Asia the energies of young and vigorous races continued to extract wealth from the soil more rapidly than their masters could consume it. In Greece and in Africa, on the other hand, the nations once so dominant seemed stricken with palsy and steadily diminished both in numbers and in resources. They had had their day, and could not survive the loss of freedom; while to the younger and lustier nations, rebounding from the shock of conquest, the empire of Rome brought a new life of progress and development.

The Roman people, dispersed over this great empire in numerous offices of civil and military command, maintained their ancient valour, their stern discipline, their zeal for the glory and the authority of Rome. The wealth of the East and of the West, which had inflamed their cupidity, had not yet enervated their vital force. Three centuries were to elapse before the great wave of Roman conquest should have spent its force. And yet already the seeds of decay were beginning to germinate in the body politic, and to detract from the healthy vigour of the national life. We shall do well to pause and take note of these signs of decadence.

Notwithstanding their high reputation for disinterested virtue, there never was a people so devoted to money-making

as the Romans. They amassed riches by all means, by plunder, by usury, by commerce. To the possession of wealth they showed the most slavish deference, and hence, whatever might be the form of their constitution, power drifted into the hands of the richer classes, as soon as the old privileges of birth had disappeared. We have already seen how the old patrician system, with its exclusive privileges, had passed away. The comitia of the curies was, indeed, still sometimes convened for the performance of certain religious rites, but it had no political weight. The real power resided in the comitia of the centuries and tribes; and in both of these it was ingeniously contrived that property should prevail over numbers. The comitia of the centuries, with its division of the people into classes, was indeed from the beginning avowedly constructed so as to give a paramount influence to wealth. As the comitia of the tribes acquired political importance, the same result was attained in their case by giving the censor the power to inscribe all the poorer citizens in the four urban tribes, leaving in the hands of the rich the control of the remaining thirty-one tribes.

The functions of these two assemblies, both essentially aristocratic, were twofold—elective and legislative. The centuries elected the consuls, the prætors, and the other curule magistrates. The tribes elected the inferior officers. Both assemblies could pass laws which were binding upon the whole people, but neither of them could initiate a law; they could but give or refuse their sanction to measures already approved by the senate. If a consul, a prætor, or a dictator had a new law to propose, he laid it before the centuries; if a tribune had a measure to recommend, he laid it before the tribes. In both cases the approval of the senate must be first obtained; and if in some instances we hear of honours being conferred by popular vote in defiance of the opposition of the senate, these must be regarded as acts of irregular encroachment. The equestrian centuries (the knights) included among them all the richest of the citizens; and as the higher magistrates received no salary, but on the contrary had to bear the heavy expense of providing public amusements, none but rich men could aspire to high office, and therefore none below the rank of knight were elected.

Such of the knights as had filled the higher magistracies acquired with their families the title of '*nobiles*,' and were

eligible to fill vacancies in the senate. This assembly was, however, limited in number to 600; a high standard of property was enforced; and every five years the censors revised the list, striking off the poor and unworthy, and selecting the most distinguished men to fill their places. Those who had attained to the rank of nobles strove hard to maintain their own position, and to keep out from it those who were still only of knightly rank. The latter were no less eager to advance themselves. Hence arose the political conflict of the senate and the knights, which, in the later years of the republic, mimics, and even repeats the phrases of, the early struggle between patricians and plebeians. The privileges and the power of the senate were enormous. The laws, the finances, foreign policy, the army, the government of the provinces, were all regulated by it, and to the senate alone every officer of the state was responsible. If its power was limited by the right of the tribunes to veto its decrees, their opposition might be combated by sowing dissension among them, or in the last resort by the creation of a dictator. Sometimes arbitrary power was conferred on the consuls by the decree 'Viderent Consules ne aliquid detrimenti res publica caperet.' Both these resources were intended only to be used against danger arising from a foreign enemy, but they were often perverted to serve the purposes of the senate in the civil strife of politics. Against these arbitrary measures the people had one defensive weapon. No citizen could be sentenced to loss of life or of civil status without an appeal to the people. If the consuls on any pretext violated this right, they were themselves liable to be sentenced by the comitia of the tribes.

In addition to their rank and power the senators enjoyed great opportunities of growing rich. The proconsuls and proprætors who ruled the provinces, though they received no salary, amassed vast wealth in the form of gifts and bribes from their subjects. When the rich fields of Greece and Asia were opened to their cupidity, the nobles abandoned usury and commerce for the more lucrative employment of provincial governments. They allowed the knights a large share in the occupation of the most fertile domain land, and confined the poorer classes to the common pastures. The discontent arising from this treatment led to the fatal scheme of distributing cheap or gratuitous doles of corn, which was levied as tribute on the

provinces of Sicily and Africa. The populace were also amused and pampered by splendid shows in the circus, the cost of which was borne by the candidates for high office; and so heavy was the outlay required for this purpose, that by the time a man had attained, through successive elections, to the office of consul, his resources were so crippled that, only by means of a rich provincial appointment, could he hope to pay his debts and retrieve his fortune. Thus the provinces were made to pay for the voluptuous idleness of the Roman people.

Meanwhile the jealous knights, debarred from these guilty gratifications, kept a watch on the provincial rulers and invoked the laws against them. Murder, bribery, peculation, corruption on the seat of justice, were crimes of which the comitia of the tribes took cognisance, and that assembly was not indisposed to judge severely the misdeeds of wealthy nobles. The senate, however, instituted a new tribunal, composed solely of members of their own order, to judge this class of offences, and thus foiled the attack of the knights. The efforts of the latter were then turned to securing for themselves a share of this jurisdiction, and they hoped by that means to compel the senate to give them also a share in the provincial governments.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CORRUPTION OF ROMAN SIMPLICITY BY THE INFLUX OF GREEK IDEAS.

THE wide-spread intercourse of the Romans with foreign nations, which resulted from their extensive conquests, produced great changes in their habits of mind and in their mode of life. Greece, as was natural, influenced them the most. The old Sabine deities, such as Consus, Lunus, and Juturna, drop out of sight. The Hellenic deities, Apollo, Æsculapius, Cybele, and Bacchus, are fast becoming the favourite objects of worship. But the religious ideas of Greece were quickly followed by the doubts and disputes of her sceptical philosophers; and these were made familiar to the Romans by the poet Ennius, a countryman of their own. The magistrates did indeed main-

tain the old ceremonial of processions, sacrifices and auguries, as an engine of state policy, but the higher classes had ceased to believe in their efficacy; and since the plebeians had been admitted to the priesthood and the augurship, the nobles cared little for the old traditions. Their attitude of mind is pithily expressed by Ennius: 'If there be gods at all, at least they do not concern themselves with the care of human affairs.'

The nobles began now to pay great attention to Greek language, and literature, and manners. Their houses swarmed with needy Greeks, whom they employed to teach the grammar and the language to themselves and to their children. Others composed chronicles of the Roman people or annals of the noble families whom they served; and these last were fond of tracing their masters' pedigree to Hercules or Æneas, or some other Greek or Trojan hero. The Greek women, fascinating and accomplished as they were, did much to subjugate their Roman conquerors, and were the cause of cruel wrongs to the rough and homely matrons of Italy. Ennius, the first of the Latin poets, and a native of Calabria, was well versed in the epic poetry of Homer, and introduced it to the Romans both by translation and imitation.

He found many followers; and for more than a century the Romans, deserting their old Saturnian verse, laboured hard at reproducing in their own tongue the Greek hexameter. Their success in the end was marvellous, and culminated in the polished diction and poetical rhythm of Virgil. They were hardly less successful in naturalising the Grecian drama. Enough of the plays of Plautus and Terence survives to show how well they learnt to move in the fetters of the Greek comic muse; and the names of many other play-writers attest the abundance of this dramatic literature.

Glancing at the manners and customs of the Romans of high rank at this period, we may observe how the life of the city becomes distinguished from that of the country, and that of the Campanian baths from both. The first was the life of the Forum and the temples: its dominant idea, the service of the state, and the performance of public duties. In the morning, the formal reception of freedmen, and the giving of legal opinions to clients; towards noon, public business in the Forum or the senate-house; then preparation for public speaking with hired rhetoricians, followed by retirement for a short mid-day

sleep. The afternoon was devoted to active exercises in the Campus Martius, such as swimming, wrestling, and fencing. Supper followed, diversified with singing and buffoonery; and so to bed at sundown.

In the country the Roman was up with the sun to superintend his farm: part of his day was devoted to hunting, fishing, and other field sports, and the remainder to study, or writing, or sleep. At the baths there was a complete holiday. Barefoot and lightly clad in a Grecian dressing-gown, the Roman lounged through the day in idle gossip, in frequent bathing, in listening to the light songs and music of foreign artists. The Roman was generally proud of his stern routine of self-imposed duty, and ashamed of these indolent relaxations; but the syren Sloth was gradually gaining his ear, and step by step the love of business gave way to the love of luxury and ease. Not till then did guilty ambition prompt him to seek in the conduct of public affairs a personal and selfish aggrandisement.

At this period, indeed, the power of the state was so completely in the hands of a small group of families closely connected by intermarriage, that it might not have been difficult to convert so aristocratic a government into a limited monarchy. The elder Scipio Africanus, had he chosen to seize the opportunity, might undoubtedly have held the position of a king or a doge during his lifetime, and perhaps he might have founded a dynasty. But the opportunity passed by, and it was not long before a reaction set in against the nobles, and leaders were not wanting, some honestly, some of evil design, to inflame the hostility of the masses. The poet Nævius, who was driven into exile by the influence of the Scipios and the Metelli, avenged himself by satirizing his haughty enemies. Cato the censor, too, lost no opportunity of rebuking the nobles for their pride, their insolence, their neglect of the old Roman traditions. This rude but vigorous scion of the Latin homesteads served the state in peace and war, and won his way to the highest honours of the consulship and the censorship. He clung to the simple and austere habits of the old Roman life, and waged unceasing war against the luxurious manners imported from abroad. Harsh, punctilious, censorious, often indeed unjust and cruel, he allowed no place to the common feelings of humanity if they seemed opposed to his stern sense of duty, the

duty of advancing the interests of the state, of the farm, of the household. Severe to all alike, his enemies, his women, his slaves, his cattle, he never relaxed unless it were into some grim jest. Yet he respected the laws of courtesy: he was not rude in speech. Even when he counselled the dismissal of the Greek philosophers from Rome, he did not treat them uncivilly; and in his old age, despite his hatred of everything foreign, he so far yielded to the popular current as to make himself master of the Greek language.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE AGRARIAN LAW OF TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.

Now that the arms of Rome were everywhere triumphant, external wars ceased for a time to be of much importance, and our attention must be turned to the internal commotions which followed each other in quick succession in Rome and Italy. The first of these was the agrarian agitation set on foot by Tiberius Gracchus, the son of Sempronius Gracchus and Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus. His brother Caius figures, like himself, in this narrative, and his sister was married to Scipio Africanus the Younger. In the year 137 B.C. the young Tiberius was traversing Etruria on his way to join the armies of Rome before Numantia. His route lay through many famous cities, once the centres of art and civilisation, now perishing in poverty and decay. But that which made the deepest impression on his mind was the absence of population in the rural districts through which he passed. Where were the Etrurian people who had fought so stubbornly against Rome? Where were the smiling homes and fruitful fields of the Roman colonists who had been planted there after the conquest? The traveller looked in vain for any trace of an Italian peasantry; he met with none but a few wretched herdsmen, and, on addressing them, he found that they were foreigners of strange features and barbarous idiom—Thracians, Africans, or Iberians.

How this state of things came about must now be explained. The old nobility of Etruria, deprived of political importance

and stripped of much of their land and wealth, had sunk out of sight among the mixed population of Rome and other large towns. The amount of land granted in possession to the colonists was small compared to the vast tracts which had been leased at low rents to a few privileged nobles. The Licinian law strictly provided that these leases should be revocable at any moment, and that the land now occupied by the nobles might be granted in possession to the poorer citizens, whenever occasion arose for such a division. But in practice such grants were made out of newly conquered territory, and the old occupations were not disturbed. These vast estates were handed down from father to son for many generations, and came to be regarded as the private property of the noble tenants. The Roman magnate who claimed their produce lived in profusion at Rome, or in some luxurious villa, and left their cultivation to be carried on by slaves. But the multiplication of slaves was found, after a time, to be both dangerous and expensive; and when copious supplies of cheap corn came flowing in from Sicily and Africa, the cultivation of grain was to a large extent given up in Italy, and vast tracts of country were converted into pasture, on which a few rude herdsmen, captives of war, sufficed to tend the sheep, the cattle, and the swine which ranged the woods. Tiberius Gracchus, who had been highly educated by his mother Cornelia, and who, himself of plebeian origin, inherited a disposition to side with the commons in their struggle with the privileged nobility, seems to have partly understood the causes of the desolation he had witnessed, and to have revolved them deeply in his mind. He proceeded to Spain, and served as quæstor to the proconsul Mancinus. There he gained experience and distinction, and inspired all—even the enemy—with confidence. On his return to Rome honours and rewards were showered upon him for good service done.

The young quæstor now extended his inquiries to other parts of Italy, and found that the state of things which he had observed in Etruria was general throughout the peninsula. Everywhere the old native nobility had disappeared: the free cultivators had been drafted into the army; the land was accumulated in the hands of the wealthy few; and the peasantry were represented by scanty bands of captive labourers. No wonder, then, that the Roman arms should be suffering dis-

asters in Spain! There had been a time when Italy could arm 700,000 foot soldiers and mount 70,000 cavaliers—all free men, all trained warriors; but now, if another Pyrrhus or Hannibal should attack her, where were the resources of Italy to resist him? True it was that, if the population of the country had diminished, that of the towns had increased. If the legions could no longer be recruited in the rural parts of Italy, they might still be replenished from the mass of Romans and Italians who formed the ruling race throughout the provinces of Greece and Africa and Asia Minor. True it was, also, that this conversion of corn land into pasture was to a certain extent a natural and economical process, and the same change was going on in Greece. For, however famous these two countries might have been in the past for their rich crops of grain, there could be no doubt that the cultivation of cereals was far more profitable under the warmer sun of Sicily and Africa, while the cool upland pastures and rich meadow lands of Italy and Greece rendered them peculiarly well adapted to the breeding of cattle.

It was not likely that the dispersion of a few thousand freeholders over Italy would materially alter this state of affairs. And yet this abandonment of the country to slaves was fraught with danger to the state, and presented a problem which demanded attention. Already in Sicily the slaves had risen by hundreds of thousands under the leadership of Eunus. They had even gained some victories over the troops sent to repress them, and a year of desolating riots and murderous executions elapsed, before they were compelled to yield to the discipline of the Roman legions, and to submit their necks once more to the stern yoke of Roman slavery. Such outbreaks had been frequent enough on a smaller scale, and the Roman masters had not failed to assert their authority and to punish the rebels; but the quiet which ensued was a repose full of suffering on the one side and of insecurity on the other.

But Tiberius regarded the policy of his countrymen from another point of view also. If he aimed at the elevation of the lower classes by free grants of land, he wished also to depress the undue exaltation of the nobles. The gulf was ever widening and growing deeper between the two classes. The free citizens of Rome were reckoned, a few years later, at 400,000, while not more than 2,000 could be designated as men of

property. The few grew richer and richer on the rents of their estates and the spoils of the provinces. The many were encouraged to regard themselves as a nation of warriors, to despise the peaceful and profitable pursuits of trade, and to lead idle and useless lives in dependence on the largesses of their wealthy rulers. Such a pernicious state of things might well make a vigorous reformer eager for change. But the time was not yet. The nobles were now all-powerful, and firmly determined to remain so.

There were two roads at Rome to honour and influence. The one lay through the regular course of the curule magistracies, culminating in the consulship, which could not lawfully be attained by any man before his forty-third year. Such a career must be one of slow and uncertain advancement. Tiberius was impatient. As a plebeian he was eligible to the tribuneship, which would give him power equal, in some respects, to that of the consul, and would confer upon him the security of personal inviolability—a consideration of great importance to a man who was about to meddle with burning questions. Tiberius sued for the tribuneship, and was eagerly acclaimed by the people, who understood his aims, and encouraged him to recover the public land for the poor citizens.

The young reformer at once proposed to enforce the Licinian law, which limited the possession of public domain to an extent of 500 jugera. He proposed to soften the application of the law by making certain additional assignments to those occupiers who had children, and giving some further compensation to those who were deprived of their holdings. In spite of this, the nobles whose estates were threatened regarded the measure as one of sheer confiscation, and opposed it with all their force. Fierce debates ensued, but the voice of reason was soon drowned in the clamour of an excited populace. The senate then prevailed upon one of the tribunes, Octavius by name, to oppose his veto to the action of his colleague. Tiberius at once induced the tribes to expel his opponent from office, and, after some rioting, a triumvirate, consisting of Tiberius, with his brother Caius and his father-in-law, A. Claudius, was appointed to put the law (the lex Sempronia) in force. The nobles now took advantage of the clauses providing for compensation to raise endless questions and delays. They also had

recourse to the old artifice of instilling into the minds of the people doubts of their champion's sincerity. They insinuated that he had accepted a diadem and purple robe as presents from abroad; and they drove him to strengthen his position by the lavish distribution among the people of the treasures bequeathed to the state by Attalus, king of Pergamus. This act was a glaring encroachment on the prerogative of the senate, and it was followed by the still more hostile proposal to admit the knights to seats on the judicial bench hitherto reserved to senators. This privilege of presiding at political trials was eagerly coveted. It conferred authority over the lives and fortunes of the highest officers, and doubtless gave many opportunities for profitable corruption.

Time went on; the tribune's year of office expired, and he asked to be re-elected. The nobles opposed him, and a riot ensued. In the confusion Tiberius, it was said, raised his hand to his head to protect himself. 'He demands the diadem!' shouted his opponents. Scipio Nasica urged the consul to slay the would-be tyrant. When he hesitated, Scipio veiled his head as one about to perform a sacrifice, and called on the citizens to avenge themselves on the traitor. The two factions now fell to blows, and the tribune's party was worsted. Tiberius himself was killed with a club on the Capitol, just outside the doors of the temple of Jupiter. As many as 300 of his partisans perished, and their bodies were cast ignominiously into the Tiber. This was the first blood shed in civil war between the citizens. The practice became only too common during the century which intervened before the establishment of the empire.

CHAPTER XXIX.

POPULAR CAREER OF CAIUS GRACCHUS.

THE death of Tiberius Gracchus, which was soon followed by that of Appius Claudius, left two vacancies in the commission appointed to carry into effect the lex Sempronia. These were filled up by Fulvius Flaccus and Papirius Carbo; but so great were the difficulties of their task, so ingenious the obstacles

thrown in their way, and so active the hostility of the senate, that no progress was made, and the law remained almost wholly inoperative.

At this conjuncture Scipio Æmilianus, who also bore the title of Africanus, returned victorious from Numantia. His military renown and his virtuous character seemed to point him out as the fittest umpire between the rival factions. His sympathies indeed were all on the aristocratic side, but both in speech and action he was conspicuous for moderation.

A new influence was now introduced into Roman politics by the agrarian agitation of the Gracchi—viz., that of the chiefs of the old Italian races. These provincial nobles had been admitted to some of the privileges enjoyed by their Roman conquerors. They too occupied large tracts of domain land, and had no mind to see their estates parcelled out among the needy rabble of the Forum. At the same time they chafed at their continued exclusion from the Roman franchise, while crowds of clients and freedmen were enrolled as citizens of the sovereign republic. They now chose Scipio as their patron, and loudly called for admission to the full rights of citizenship.

But Scipio's career was suddenly cut off. He was found dead in his bed. It was asserted that no wound could be discovered on the body. Suspicion fell on his wife Sempronia, and on her mother Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi; but the senate declined to prosecute the inquiry, and to the senate the odium was generally attached.

The Italians were struck with consternation. They had been silently working their way towards the franchise. Perperna, one of their leaders, had actually risen by regular steps from a provincial magistracy to the Latin franchise, thence to the Roman franchise, and finally to the dignity of consul. But the death of Scipio encouraged the senate to proscribe the claims of these ambitious subjects, and even to decree their expulsion from the city. Hereupon Caius Gracchus and the consul Fulvius, the leaders of the popular party, espoused the cause of the Italians. The senate removed Fulvius to the command of an army and C. Gracchus to an official post in Sardinia. The Italians were exasperated at their disappointment, and the little town of Fregellæ rashly flew to arms. The nobles promptly put down and punished the revolt, and the spirit of the Italians was thereby daunted for another genera-

tion. Yet the struggle thus begun eventually raised the provinces, through a series of civil wars, to the level of Rome herself.

The next move of the nobles was to impeach Caius Gracchus for sedition; but in this they failed, and the accused was elected tribune and urged to carry his brother's plans into effect. His designs, however, were both more revolutionary and more interested than those of Tiberius. He began by threatening his opponents with impeachment and driving them into exile. This done, he reaffirmed the principle of his brother's agrarian law by repeated popular votes. Next he introduced a series of highly popular measures. He appointed by law a regular gratuitous distribution of corn to the poor. He levied duties on articles of luxury. He supplied the soldiers with clothing at the public expense. He founded colonies for some, and provided employment, on the construction of roads and bridges, for others among the needy citizens.

All these measures were advocated by the great tribune in eloquent speeches; but that which won him especial favour with the people was, that in speaking from the rostra he, first of all Romans, turned his back upon the comitium where sat the patrician curies, and addressed himself directly to the mass of humbler citizens.

A more serious change was that by which the knights were at last admitted to a share in the judicial appointments. The provinces were crying out for relief from the exactions and oppression of their governors, who were all of senatorial rank. So long as the senators continued to be their sole judges, the misdeeds of these men were secure from punishment, and the oppressed could have no hope of relief. The tribune took advantage of this loud outcry for justice, and installed the knights in the tribunals.

'Caius made the republic double headed,' was the keen remark of antiquity. This, however, was scarcely true, for, in the Roman state, there had always been a double element. The powers of the consul and of the tribune, of the senate and of the people, had always been arrayed in conflict against each other. Caius did but place in the hands of the monied classes, as distinguished from the nobles, a new weapon of substantial power. The conflict between the senators and the knights was destined to last a hundred years, and in the course of it the

knights did good service in allaying civil discord and maintaining respect for the law. But no new measure of justice was to be had from these new judges. They, the financial agents, the tax farmers, the capitalists of the republic, were as harsh and rapacious in their treatment of the provinces as ever the senators had been, and it was not till a stronger hand was imposed upon them by the autocrat of the empire that the tyranny of either the knights or the senators was effectually controlled.

Meantime the claims of the Italians were still unsatisfied: they hungered keenly for admission to the Roman franchise, for a share of the public lands, for access to the honours and emoluments of office, most of all for the immunity they might enjoy as citizens from the arbitrary exactions and still more arbitrary violence they were wont to suffer at the hands of Roman officers. Hitherto the prejudices and jealousy of the Roman populace had steadily opposed their admission, but now the mass of the citizens seem to have been generally won to the generous views of Caius Gracchus. The nobles were deeply alarmed, and were still more incensed by the tribune's plans for founding colonies at Capua, Tarentum, and Carthage, the very towns which had been Rome's most hated rivals.

Caius in an evil moment vacated the tribuneship and visited Africa on business connected with the colony at Carthage. In his absence the nobles plotted his destruction, and elected Opimius, their ablest leader, to the consulship. On his return he was no longer protected by the inviolability of the tribune's office. He was insulted by one of the consul's lictors; and when his partisans interposed in his defence, the senate, hastily summoned, declared the state in danger, and invested Opimius with arbitrary power. The consul's party was the stronger. Caius was driven from his refuge on the Aventine, the hill of the plebeians; he had to cross the Tiber by the Sublician bridge, and seeing that his escape was cut off, he required one of his own slaves to give him the death-blow. Opimius had promised to pay for his head with its weight in gold, and the story runs that the brains were extracted and their place supplied with lead. Caius was pronounced a rebel, his estates confiscated, his widow deprived of her dowry. The nobles did all in their power to brand the two illustrious tri-

U.C. 633, B.C. 121.

bunes as seditious demagogues. But the people were passionately devoted to the memory of their champions, and at a later period erected statues in their honour.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE CIMBRI AND TEUTONES. RISE OF CAIUS MARIUS.

THE nobles, flushed with triumph, now confidently expected to undo all the work of the Gracchi and to reassert their own supremacy. The partisans of the murdered tribunes, though decimated, were not cowed; yet, despite their resistance, the Sempronian laws were gradually reversed. Under the agrarian laws but few allotments had been made, and the recipients of these had been forbidden to alienate their land. This prohibition was now revoked, and the consequence was that rich capitalists quickly swallowed up the petty allotments of the poor, who preferred the lazy life of the capital to the hard work of a remote farm. No further notice was taken of the demands of the Italians, and the censors were told to expunge from the list of senators and knights all who were suspected of leaning towards a reform of the constitution. The nobles were aided in this reaction by an alarm of danger from without. In the year B.C. 113 Rome heard with anxiety that hordes of barbarians known as the Cimbri and Teutones were descending upon the northern slopes of the Alps and threatening to pass into Italy. The republic possessed at this time a powerful force, commanded by Papirius Carbo, and engaged in reducing the wild country which lay between the Adriatic and the Danube. Carbo barred the passes of the Rhætian Alps and turned the course of these northern hosts westward into Gaul; Rome could again breathe freely. Such a crisis is apt to calm the troubled sea of political life. The masses feel their own helplessness in the presence of a powerful enemy, and their need of superior guidance. In this case the nobles, strong in their habit of united action, undertook the defence of the republic; the people patiently submitted to their control. Between the Alps and the Rhone the Romans had by dint of hard fighting established a dominion known as the Province. Into this country she now poured her

armies. But so powerful were the hosts of the invaders, that in the years B.C. 109 to 107 the legions were four times defeated and their generals slain or captured. In one day the camps of Manlius and Cæpio were stormed, and the slaughter was equal to that at Cannæ or the Allia. Yet the victors refrained from entering Italy, and contented themselves with ravaging Gaul; some even penetrated through the Pyrenees into Spain.

This respite was fortunate for the Romans, as a fresh trouble was now arising in the south. At the time when Carthage was destroyed Rome had favoured and encouraged her ally Massinissa, king of Numidia, till his kingdom had so increased as to surround the province of Africa, and he in his turn became an object of jealousy to the republic.

At the death of Massinissa his kingdom was shared between his three sons, but by the death of two of them the sole dominion had lapsed to Micipsa. He again had three sons, of whom Jugurtha, though illegitimate, was far the ablest. Micipsa would fain have been rid of him, and sent him with succours to Scipio before Numantia. There the youth learned the art of war, and also acquired a knowledge of the Roman character. On the death of Micipsa he inherited one-third of the kingdom, but before long he had slain one of his brothers, Hiempsal, and driven the other, Adherbal, to seek support at Rome. Jugurtha strengthened his cause by lavish bribery, and the senate decreed the division of Numidia between the two rivals. Again

U.C. 642, B.C. 112. Jugurtha disturbed the settlement, and, having captured Adherbal, put him to a cruel death. The Romans, headed by the tribune Memmius, insisted on vindicating the honour of the republic. A consular army was despatched, but the expedition ended in a speedy and dishonourable peace. An outcry was now raised against the venality of the nobles, Æmilius Scaurus being especially pointed at. The Numidian was summoned to Rome; a safe-conduct was assured to him, but he was required to disclose the details of his bribery. He pretended to do all that was required of him, but secretly contrived that one of the tribunes should interfere and stop

U.C. 644, B.C. 110. the proceedings. On his departure, as he passed the gates, he exclaimed, 'Oh venal city! destined quickly to perish, as soon as a purchaser shall be found for thee.' Jugurtha returned in safety to his own country, but he was

followed by a Roman army, which, however, did not seriously molest him. During the absence of the consul Albinus at Rome his brother Aulus made a dash at the royal treasures. He was defeated, and his army passed under the yoke. Albinus was then again sent out to renew the war. A fresh demand was made for punishment on those who had accepted Jugurtha's bribes, and four consulars and a pontiff were condemned. It was a season of public alarm and public severity. The consul Silanus had just been routed by the Cimbri. Italy was in danger of an invasion. Yet in spite of this the other consul, Q. Cecilius Metellus, was despatched to Africa to supersede Albinus, and to revive the spirit and the discipline of the Roman troops.

Metellus came of a most honourable stock, and was personally conspicuous for his integrity. He was ably seconded by an officer of rising reputation, who had carved his own way upwards to high military rank. Caius Marius, a native of Arpinum, in the Volscian mountains, began life, so it was said, as a farm labourer. In his early years he entered the ranks, and when fighting in Scipio's army before Numantia he attracted his general's notice by his prowess and by his ready submission to discipline. Scipio even pointed him out as a possible successor to his own proud position as the first general of Rome. The ambition of the young Italian was roused. On the return of peace, he plunged into politics and was elected tribune as a representative man of the people. A fortunate marriage allied him with the noble family of the Cæsars, and this connection probably introduced him to the notice of Metellus. Under such leaders the legions recovered their discipline and became once more invincible. The intrigues of Jugurtha were baffled, his combinations broken up, and in due time his arms sustained a crushing defeat. Thenceforward he avoided a pitched battle, and when Metellus attacked and plundered town after town the Numidian horse hovered on his flanks and caused great suffering to the Roman troops. Metellus now tried to bring his adversary to bay by attacking the strong fortress of Zama; but the defence was courageous and successful: the Numidians broke into the Roman camp in rear of the assailants and endangered their position, which was only secured by the prompt action of Marius and his cavalry. Metellus was compelled to raise the siege, and he then opened

communications with Jugurtha's closest friends, whom he bribed to betray their master. The plot was discovered, and Jugurtha executed the traitors without mercy. Haunted by fear and suspicion, having no one in whom he could trust, hated for his cruelties, he retreated to Thala, in the desert; but even here Metellus pursued him, and he with difficulty escaped by night. A pause now occurred in this African warfare, and Marius asked his general's leave to repair to Rome and sue for the consulship. Metellus scornfully bade him to stay where he was; but Marius was the idol of his soldiers, and highly popular in Rome. His rude manners and his bold bearing towards the nobles endeared him to the masses. He found means to prevail over the opposition of Metellus, and at the last moment, by a great effort, he reached the city in time. The people not only elected him consul, but appointed him to the province of Numidia in defiance of the senate, who proposed to maintain Metellus there as proconsul.

Marius openly exulted in his success, and lost no opportunity of flaunting his own humble origin in the face of the defeated nobles. He at once set to work to organise an army which should be devoted rather to his own personal ambition than to the welfare of the republic. Hitherto the legions had been recruited from the middle classes, who had some stake in the country. Marius enlisted mainly the proletarians—the rabble of the Forum—and they, with the example of their low-born leader's success before them, and thirsting for plunder, flocked to his banner.

Metellus, finding himself superseded by his lieutenant, retired in disgust to Rome, where, however, a triumph and the title of Numidicus were accorded to him. Marius prosecuted the war against Jugurtha with great activity. The Numidian found safety only in the desert, whence he long continued to defy the power of Rome. But he was at last betrayed by his ally Bocchus, the king of Mauretania. Loaded with chains, unpitied by his former subjects, he was dragged through his own do-
U.C. 650, B.C. 104. minions by Sulla, the consul's lieutenant. At Rome he was reserved for two years to grace the triumphs of his conquerors, and then left to perish miserably of cold and hunger in the prison beneath the Capitol.

Marius remained for some time longer in Africa to regulate the affairs of Numidia, the eastern portion of which he annexed

to the Roman province of Africa, while the remainder was handed over to native princes. A few years later Ptolemæus Apion, the last of the Greek kings of Cyrenaica, bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans. A shadow of independence was allowed to the five principal cities of the country, but Leptis was occupied by a Roman garrison.

When Marius returned in B.C. 104 to claim his triumph, the consulship of the year had been already thrust upon him in his absence. The Cimbri were again threatening to attack the Province and to cross the Alps. Since the loss of five armies in that quarter the Romans had simply maintained a defensive attitude in their fortified cities. But the republic was impatient of this disgrace, and demanded a leader who could expel the invaders; the nobles, therefore, stifled their jealousy, and agreed to elect Marius to a second consulship and appoint him to the conduct of the war.

The raw levies of Marius stood in fear of the huge and hideous barbarians, but the latter were scattered about in disorder and left him time for preparation. Marius set his troops to cut a dyke from the mouth of the Rhone for the transport of supplies. It was many months before he judged his legions fit to face the enemy; and during this interval a third and a fourth consulship were conferred upon him, so grave was the situation, and so thorough the confidence of Rome in her champion.

At last the barbarians began to move. The Cimbri and Helvetii undertook to invade Italy through the Tyrol, while the Teutones and Ambrones were to crush Marius and to advance along the coast of Liguria. They were to unite their forces on the banks of the Po. Marius retained his post in the Transalpine province, while his colleague Catulus led another army to the banks of the Adige. Marius with difficulty kept his men close in camp and waited till the Teutones began their advance upon Italy. Then he followed them, choosing his own ground, and offered them battle near Aquæ Sextiæ, the modern Aix. The barbarians were eager for the encounter. First the Ambrones, and two days later the Teutones, furiously assaulted the Roman lines. But both attacks were repulsed with immense slaughter: the legions were kept well in hand, and the invaders were completely routed. The memory of that fearful carnage was preserved in the name of the Putrid Plain,

and is still retained in the name of Pourrières, the village which now marks the spot.

Marius reserved the richest spoils to grace his triumph, the rest he consumed in a vast bonfire, the troops standing round crowned with chaplets. Just as he was on the point of kindling the pile, a horseman rode up with the news of his election to a fifth consulship. The memory of this incident also survives in the locality. Each year the villagers assemble on a certain hill and kindle a huge bonfire amid shouts of 'Victoire! Victoire!'

Meanwhile the Cimbri had made their way across the Alps by the Brenner pass, the only one which was practicable for their numerous waggons. The mere report of the fierceness of the invaders sufficed to dismay the soldiers of Catulus, and headed by their leader they retreated in confusion. Marius had been summoned in haste to Rome. He lost no time in effecting a junction between his own victorious troops and those of Catulus, and he confined the Cimbri to the further bank of the Po. The barbarians declined a battle, but sent to demand lands of Marius for themselves and the Teutons. 'The Teutons,' he replied, 'have got all the soil they need on the other side of the Alps.' The Cimbri could no longer delay the fight, which took place at Campi Raudii, near Vercellæ, and ended in their total defeat and destruction. The victory was really won by Catulus and his lieutenant Sulla, as Marius in a furious charge was carried beyond the enemy's ranks. Yet the popular voice gave the chief glory to their favourite hero, who was hailed as the third founder of Rome along with Romulus and Camillus. Many years elapsed before the alarm caused by this Cimbric invasion was effaced from the minds of the Romans.

U.C. 653, B.C. 101.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE ITALIANS FOR THE FRANCHISE.

DURING the absence of Marius in Gaul, the city had been harassed by domestic troubles of a new kind. The slaves of Italy had revolted. Composed of men of all nations and

classes, there were many among them who chafed bitterly at the degradation of servitude. Isolated outbreaks had been frequent and sometimes not without a measure of success. Numerous leaders had appeared, several of whom deluded their followers by pretending to magical or prophetic powers. In this case the insurrection spread from Campania to Sicily: more than one Roman army was beaten by these miserable hordes; and it was not till 100,000 of the insurgents had been slain that the flame was subdued for a time. U.C. 655, B.C. 90.

In the year that followed his return to Rome, Marius was for the sixth time elected consul. Careless himself of political objects, engrossed with the single thought of maintaining his own pre-eminence, he readily lent himself to the cries of faction. And such cries were then frequent in the Roman Forum. The people were bent on reviving the agrarian laws of the Gracchi. The knights were clamouring for the monopoly of the judicial offices. Personal spite and envy were rife among them, and these vented themselves on Q. Servilius Cæpio. A few years before he had captured Tolosa in Gaul by an act of treachery, and had appropriated to himself the golden plunder of the Gaulish temples. Subsequently he had suffered defeat at the hands of the Cimbri, and now this misfortune was attributed by the popular voice to the vengeance of the gods on their impious robber. 'The gold of Tolosa' was the cause of his disaster, and became as such proverbial. The ill-starred leader was threatened by the people with confiscation of his goods and degradation from office. The senate tried to defend him, but a riot ensued, Æmilius Scaurus, the prince of the senate, was wounded; and Cæpio suffered an ignominious fate.

In the year 103, the right of electing the chief pontiff was grasped by the popular assembly. This important political office had hitherto been wielded by the patricians alone: it still continued to be reserved to them. But the patricians had ceased to be identified in interest and feeling with the ruling oligarchy of the nobles or Optimates, as they are now commonly called, and as popular leaders they inflicted some of the rudest shocks upon the old traditions of the republic. At the same time the knights succeeded in wresting the judicia completely out of the hands of the senators, and vesting them exclusively

in their own order. Marius, as consul, displayed neither courage nor presence of mind in the face of civil discord. His action too was far from popular. In one measure, however, he gained the support of the tribunes; that is, in the favour he showed to distinguished Italian soldiers. On many of these he bestowed grants of land in the Transalpine province, the soil of which he argued had been lost to the native population and reconquered by the Romans to be disposed of at their own pleasure. The opposition of the nobles was only overcome by a popular tumult headed by the tribune Saturninus. Marius held aloof and let the storm take its course; and in the end Metellus, the leader of the aristocratic faction, disgusted at the insults heaped upon him, retired into voluntary exile. Upon the arrogant tribune the nobles soon had their revenge. Saturninus asked for re-election to the office of tribune. He was opposed, and violence was used on both sides. In self-defence he seized upon the Capitol with a body of armed partizans. The nobles denounced him as aspiring to royalty, and the people listened again to the cry so often fatal to their leaders. The state was declared to be in danger, and Marius charged with its defence. He soon reduced the insurgents by cutting off their supply of water, and the people took the life of their friend and patron without scruple.

This was perhaps the last moment when a limited monarchy might have been established at Rome. Could the people have found an honest and able man to exercise such power as had already been wielded by Marius; could the nobles have yielded to the just claims of their own commons and of the Italians, a better form of government than the naked despotism of Augustus and Tiberius might have been evolved. There still survived among the citizens enough of patriotic virtue to fit them for a free political life. While they controlled private ambition by a sovereign authority, they might have retained some control over the sovereign himself. But the event proved that neither party in the state was enlightened enough to entertain the idea of such a compromise. The empire was the only possible remedy for the evils which now menaced the state. The Italians had for some time been demanding the Roman franchise; but we must not suppose that these pretensions were based upon the idea of their being entitled by right to such a privilege. They had been subdued by Rome,

and in that stage of the world's history conquerors and conquered alike never thought of questioning that the winners in a fight were justly entitled to keep for themselves all the privilege and all the power they could grasp. To yield anything would have been understood as a concession not to justice but to fear. There was in truth little to attract the subject masses in the privileges of Roman citizenship. The military service enforced upon the citizens, and the restraints which hindered them from the pursuits of trade and art, were evils to be avoided. The prizes of political office were far beyond their reach. The real motive which stirred them was the desire for land suggested by the agrarian agitation of the Gracchi. The Italians saw the lands which once belonged to their fathers in the possession of a few wealthy nobles. But they themselves still tilled and enjoyed those lands subject to paying a rent to the noble proprietors. Now, if these lands were to be divided equally among the plebeians of Rome, the Italian peasant would be ousted from his farm unless he could claim his share in the distribution as being himself a citizen of Rome. Thus the plebeian agitation for land and the Italian agitation for citizenship moved side by side in close alliance; and when the knights, in their struggle for ascendency with the Optimates, availed themselves of this external aid, the aristocratic order found itself arrayed in defence of its prerogative against a more powerful combination than it had ever faced before.

The Optimates formed a well-organised party, knit together in close discipline with their bands of clients and retainers, trained to the use of their suffrage as well as of their arms. The Italians had the strength of numbers, for they included all the races, from the Rubicon in the north to the Straits of Messina in the south, which had so long and stubbornly withstood the arms of Rome. Their free municipal constitution had also produced a race of able speakers and statesmen. The Cimbric war had trained many thousands of brave veterans who were now disbanded. Besides these resources they had a powerful friend in the Roman tribunate. M. Livius Drusus, a noble by birth, warmly espoused the cause of the Italians, yet without abandoning his hereditary order. He sought honestly to reconcile and unite the interests of three contending factions. He restored the judicia to the senators, at the same time

admitting 300 knights into the senate; he promised lands to the needy citizens and the longed-for franchise to the Italians. The views of this wisest and ablest of demagogues were large, and his bearing frank and brave. 'Build me,' said he to his architect, 'a house wherein all my countrymen may witness all I do.' At the same time he purchased support on all sides by an unexampled profusion which did not fail of its object. For a long time the senate and the people united to do him honour. When he fell sick, vows were offered for his recovery from end to end of Italy. Drusus, however, could not patronise the Italians without incurring the hostility of the privileged class at home. A story is told of his nephew, M. Porcius Cato, then a child of four years' old, being asked by a Marsian chief at his uncle's table to support the Italian cause. The little Cato sturdily refused; toys and sweetmeats failed to move him. At last the Marsian seized him by the leg and held him out of window with violent threats. Still the same obstinate refusal; and the Italian sighed to think what resistance he must expect from the men of Rome, when a child could be so inflexible. Drusus, finding both the knights and senators growing more and more alienated from him, was forced to lean more unreservedly on the foreigners, whom he tried hard to restrain from unlawful violence. But they passed beyond his control. Pompædius Silo, the chief of the Marsians, marched on Rome with 10,000 men in arms. The senate consented to parley and to discuss his claims; every effort was used to detach the supporters of the Italian cause; and on the day of voting the consul Marcius Philippus tried to break up the meeting. One of the tribune's officers seized and throttled him. The city was filled with the fiercest excitement. No one knew whom to trust; armed bands paraded the streets; and in the confusion, Drusus, as he entered his house, was struck by the dagger of an assassin. As he fell he exclaimed, 'When will Rome find so good a citizen?' The assassin escaped in the crowd.

U.C. 663, B.C. 91.

The senatorial faction, to which the murder was generally imputed, proceeded with all haste to reverse their victim's measures and to impeach his partisans, among whom were many of the noblest Optimates. The illustrious Æmilius Scaurus was among others accused before the popular tribunal. He deigned only to reply, 'Varius, the Iberian, charges Æmilius Scaurus, prince of the senate, with exciting the

Italians to revolt. Scaurus denies it. Romans! which of them do you believe?' The people absolved him with acclamations.

The Italians, deprived of all support within the city, flew to arms. The Marsians, with Pompædius Silo at their head, took the lead. With them were associated the people of Picenum, of Samnium, of Lucania and Apulia, and others; all, in fact, who belonged to the great Sabellian race. These tribes confederated themselves into a great republic, whose government was to be modelled on that of Rome; but the Etrurians, the Latins, the Umbrians, the Campanians, and the Gauls of the Cisalpine, adhered to the fortunes of Rome.

There is no doubt that the forces of which Rome could dispose far outnumbered those of the new league. To the roll of Roman citizens, numbering at this time 400,000 men, must be added at least 120,000 for her Italian allies, besides all the auxiliaries which she might draw from her provinces beyond the peninsula. She held, moreover, the chief fortresses connected by the great military roads throughout the territory of her adversaries. On the other hand, she dared not weaken her garrisons scattered through Greece and Asia, Spain and Africa: the temper of her allies was uncertain; and her own citizens, as well as their leaders, were split up into jealous factions. The social or Marsic war began in the year B.C. 90, and lasted through three campaigns. The republic was taken by surprise, whereas the Italians had long been preparing for the struggle. These latter fought with much constancy, and in the end gained their object, despite the long roll of defeats recorded against them by Roman historians.

Among the captains of the Roman legions were many men already famous or destined later to become so. The veteran Marius, as a known sympathiser with the Italians, was not trusted with extensive command; but his former lieutenant, L. Cornelius Sulla, gained the chief laurels of the war. With him were ranged a Cæsar, a Rutilius, and a Pompeius Strabo. The young Cnæus Pompeius served his first campaign; and Cicero, the chief of Roman orators, earned his first and only stipend. In the midst of their reputed victories the Romans were forced to concede the very privilege for which they were fighting. The lex Julia conferred the franchise on the Etrurians and Umbrians, and two years later the lex Plautia Popiria

extended this boon to the confederated Italians. Ten tribes were added to the thirty-five already existing: yet it turned out that after all this bloodshed, but few of the Italians cared to make the requisite journey to Rome, where alone the franchise could be obtained or exercised. Between the years B.C. 114 and B.C. 86, the number of citizens only increased from 394,000 to 463,000, and sixteen years later it did not exceed 450,000. Nevertheless the issue of the social war produced a most important result. It created a precedent for the wholesale admission of subjects to the full privileges of membership of the republic, which was afterwards followed in many quarters of Spain, of Gaul, and of Africa, while the Latin franchise was still more widely extended.

There can be little doubt that the liberal policy, which thus conceded just demands and discarded inveterate prejudices, saved the Roman state from disruption and decay at a most critical period of its history.

CHAPTER XXXII.

RISE OF CORNELIUS SULLA. CIVIL WAR. DEATH OF MARIUS.

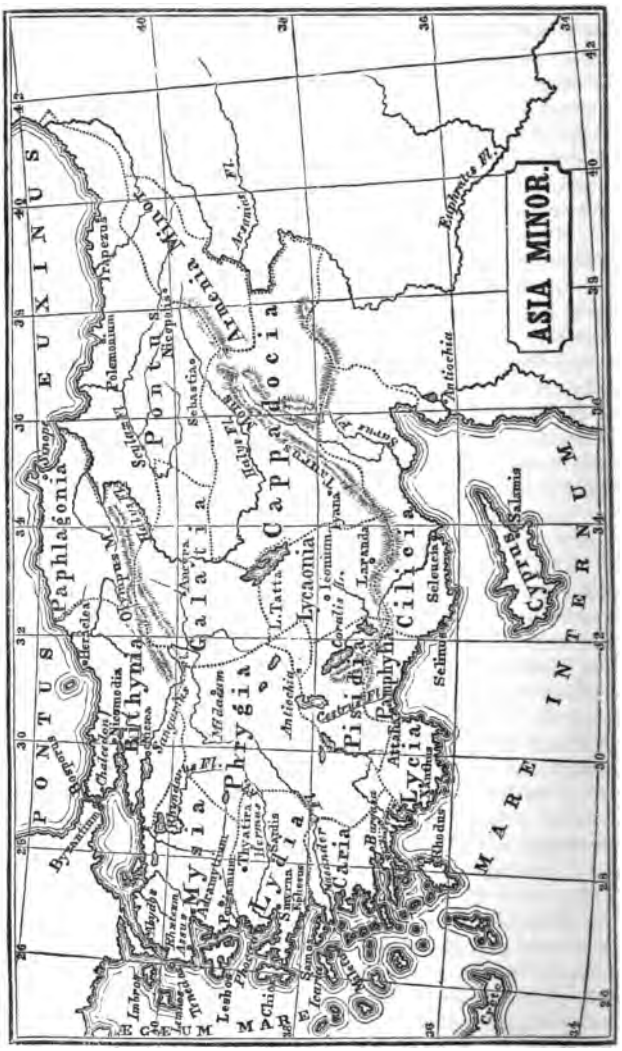
FROM this time forward the history of Rome becomes more and more a chronicle of the lives and rivalries of her great warriors and statesmen. At the close of the Marsic war, Sulla was forty-nine years old, Marius about seventy. Though overshadowed thus far by the fame of the older captain, Sulla seized every opportunity of gaining distinction. Nor was Marius indifferent to his growing reputation. He envied him also his superior birth and education, for Sulla was a scion of the noble house of the Cornelii, and was skilled both in writing and speaking Greek. In spite of this affectation of literature, his nature was coarse, and he was addicted to gross debauchery and to low company. He is described as having piercing blue eyes of a sinister expression, while his complexion, disfigured by pimples and blotches, was compared by the Greeks to a mulberry sprinkled with meal. His manners were haughty, and though not insensible to pity, no single act of kindness or generosity is recorded of him. The nobles, without liking him,

accepted him as their champion, and he on his part was filled with the idea of exalting his own order and ruling Rome by means of it. Sulla became consul U.C. 666, and had the credit of bringing the Marsic war to a close. Before his term of office expired war broke out with Mithridates, king of Pontus, and Sulla had the strongest claim to command the legions in Asia. Marius indeed was jealous, and tried to displace him, but to no purpose, for the nobles had now found a champion on whom they could place more reliance.

Mithridates was by birth of Persian extraction, and in addition to the realm of Pontus he had extended his sway over the northern and eastern shores of the Euxine Sea. Phrygia, once his, had been wrested from him by the Romans; but he had revenged himself by placing his infant son on the throne of Cappadocia. His armies were recruited from the hardy mountaineers of the Caucasus and the Taurus. His generals were probably Greeks and not wanting in military skill. He was himself a man of vigorous intellect and of robust frame. Among the stories told of him, one represents him as fortifying his system against poison by daily absorbing a dose of it; another, as being able to converse with his subjects in twenty-five different languages.

In the year B.C. 93 Rome had already interfered to annul the appointments of Mithridates in Cappadocia. Sulla, then prætor in Cilicia, had enforced the decree of the republic, and the king of Pontus made no resistance. But when Italy was convulsed with the social war, he again took arms to expel the Roman nominee from Cappadocia. Again the Roman senate asserted its will by force, and again Mithridates yielded. Finding himself, however, severely pressed by the Roman armies, he turned at bay and routed them; then raising the whole native population, he effected a general massacre of the Roman citizens in Asia, 80,000 or even 150,000 in number according to various statements.

To avenge this outrage Sulla was now ordered to the East at the head of a powerful army. Marius, still brooding over his disappointment, began a fresh intrigue with the Italians, who were still dissatisfied with their position in the state. He raised a tumult in the city, and got himself nominated to the eastern command in place of his rival. Sulla, however, had not yet quitted Italy, and having assured himself of the devo-


ASIA MINOR.
PONTUS
EUXINUS
Paphlagonia
Bithynia
Galatia
Cappadocia
Armenia Min.
Pontus
Phrygia
Lycaonia
Pisidia
Cilicia
Pamphylia
Lycia
Caria
Lydia
Mysia
MARE INTERNUM
Cyprus
Rhodus
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Nicomedia
Nicopolis
Amasia
Sebastia
Tavium
Trapezus
Colchis
Olympus M.
Sinope
Halys Fl.
Euphrates Fl.
Antiochia
Tarsus
Salamis
Seleucia
Attalia
Perga
Myra
Patara
Xanthus
Laodicea
Iconium
Apamea
Synnada
Metropolis
Sardes
Smyrna
Ephesus
Miletus
Halicarnassus
Cnidus
Troas
Lesbos
Chios
Samos
Rhodus
Creta
Ægæum Mare

tion of his soldiers, he promptly faced about and marched on Rome with six legions. The people were struck with consternation by this bold move: resistance was impossible, and Marius barely succeeded in effecting his escape when Sulla entered Rome as a conqueror.

On the morrow Sulla summoned the people to the Forum, and explained to them that a faction had compelled him to use force. He then rescinded the acts just passed in favour of the Italians, and decreed the repeal of the time-honoured rule of the constitution which gave the force of law to the plebiscita or resolutions of the popular assembly. Thus the violence of Marius impelled his rival to a counter-revolution, by which the power of the popular tribunes was swept away.

Meanwhile Marius was fleeing for his life and hiding his head, upon which a price had been set. After many hair-breadth escapes he got on board a small trading ship bound from Ostia to Libya, but landed again, under the torments of sea-sickness, near Circeii. After wandering for some time among the desolate pine-forests of that coast, he was at last captured crouching among the reeds at the mouth of the Liris. He was dragged to Minturnæ, where the magistrates determined to put him to death and claim the reward offered. A Cimbrian slave was sent to despatch him, who declared that a bright flame shot from his eyes, and a voice issuing from the gloom demanded, 'Wretch! dare you to slay Caius Marius?' The barbarian fled, exclaiming 'I cannot kill Caius Marius!' The magistrates and the people, alarmed by this omen, connived at the escape of their prisoner to Africa. There, as he meditated among the ruins of Carthage, Marius was warned by the Roman governor to begone; and he at last found a refuge on an island near the African coast.

While the conqueror of the Cimbri was thus fleeing for his life, and his triumphant rival engaged in the war with Mithridates, fresh troubles broke out in Italy. The Samnites, led by another Pontius Telesinus, again revolted, and being joined by bands of slaves and robbers, threatened a descent upon Sicily.

Metellus Pius, who was sent to crush them, could do no more than hold them in check. A Roman army was stationed in Picenum under the command of Pompeius Strabo, who had delayed to surrender his imperium at the close of the Social

war. The senate sent the late consul Rufus to receive the legions at his hands, but a mutiny broke out; Rufus was slain, and Strabo resumed his command without punishing the mutineers. The legions of Rome had slipped from the hands of the government and become the personal following of their imperators. Nor was the government more powerful at home. In the absence of Sulla the demagogue Cinna, backed by a noisy faction, demanded the recall of Marius and the exiles, and the full and final enfranchisement of the Italians. Such a demand was certain to be resisted. A disturbance arose in the Forum: blood was shed, but the event proved that Cinna had miscalculated his strength. He was overpowered by Octavius, his colleague in the consulship, and driven with his partisans out of the city. Cinna seems to have counted on Strabo and his army; but Strabo preferred to wait and watch the turn of events.

Cinna was promptly and illegally degraded from the consulship. Proscribed and outlawed, he fled into Campania, and called upon the new Italian citizens to support their patron. He soon collected an armed following. Many exiles of the Marian party joined him; among them Q. Sertorius, an officer of distinction. Nor did he fail to unite himself with the Samnites and Lucanians, the avowed enemies of the republic. Marius himself, threading the ambuscades of a thousand enemies, was acting in concert with him. Suddenly appearing on the coast of Etruria, he was quickly joined by some friends at the head of five hundred fugitive slaves, who demanded no better than to fight for vengeance and plunder. With such a following the reckless anarch Marius marched upon Rome from the north, while Cinna approached it from the south. Sertorius and Carbo menaced her from other quarters, and Rome saw herself encircled by four armies of rebellious citizens, backed by the Samnite insurrection. The senate hastily recalled Metellus, bidding him make peace with the Samnites on any terms. This he failed to do; but leaving a small force to watch them, he hurried back to the city. His lieutenant was soon overpowered, and the Samnites rushed on to Rome, vowing they would have no peace till the covert of the Roman wolves was destroyed. In their despair the senate appealed to Strabo, but he would not stir. Soon after a mutiny broke out in his camp, in which he would certainly have perished but for the

devotion of his son, the young Pompeius. Pestilence now broke out, which decimated the city and the hostile forces outside the walls. Strabo was carried off by it. The senate next tried to make terms with Cinna, and failing of that, asked for an amnesty. Cinna was seated in his curule chair with lictors and fasces around him. Behind him stood Marius, clothed, as an exile and an outlaw, in black rags, squalid and unshorn. His gloomy looks foreboded the proscriptions that were to follow. The consul Octavius had been assured of safety and refused to escape. He was at once decapitated and his bleeding head suspended from the rostra. Never before had such a sight been seen in Rome, but civil war soon made the practice familiar. A general massacre ensued. Senators, knights, and meaner citizens were ruthlessly slaughtered. Some of the noblest men in Rome were among the slain—Crassus, who had been both consul and censor; Antonius, celebrated as the greatest of the Roman orators; two of the Julii, kinsmen of Julius Cæsar, the future dictator. Marius wrapped himself in silence, but instructed his followers to spare only those to whom he gave his hand to kiss. At first the adherents of Sulla and the aristocratic faction were singled out for slaughter, but soon the assassins were joined by slaves and Italians, who murdered indiscriminately on their own account. U.C. 667, B.C. 87.

This wholesale carnage was at length arrested, but many executions still took place under forms of judicial process. Catulus, the colleague of Marius in his last battle against the Cimbri, pleaded for his life upon his knees. 'You must die,' was the stern answer, and he was compelled to suffocate himself with charcoal. The chiefs of the revolution next proceeded to reorganise the government, nominating themselves without election to the highest magistracies.

Marius became consul for the seventh time. At the age of seventy, broken in health, he reached the summit of his aspirations. He even proposed to take command of the legions, and wrest from Sulla the conduct of affairs in the East; but his strength and his spirits alike gave way. After enjoying the highest favours of fortune, and suffering her worst buffets, he was weary of life. One evening, after supper, he told the story of his life to some friends, and remarked that no man of sense ought to trust again to so balanced a fortune. Next day he kept his bed, and at the end of seven days died, U.C. 668, B.C. 86.

of no apparent illness. He was honoured with a public funeral, and it is related that the tribune Fimbria caused the venerable Mucius Scævola, chief of the Roman jurists, to be sacrificed on the pyre. The victim was, however, not slain, but carried off by his friends and restored to life. It seems probable that this pretended sacrifice was no more than the drawing of a drop of blood to satisfy an ancient superstition.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

SULLA CRUSHES THE MARIAN FACTION AND DEVASTATES ITALY.

MARIUS died in January, early in his year of office, and Cinna chose Valerius Flaccus to fill the vacancy. He then set himself to carry out the long-promised enfranchisement of the Italians, by suppressing the ten Italian tribes, and enrolling the new citizens among the thirty-five tribes of the city. The Samnites and Lucanians still scorned the offered privilege. The consul next proclaimed an adjustment of debts, by compelling creditors to accept the copper '*as*' in payment for the silver sesterce, whose value was four times as great. This done, Flaccus took command of the legions destined for the Pontic war, and proceeded to the East to confront Sulla.

Before Sulla left Rome, Mithridates had already gained enormous successes. Not only Bithynia, Cappadocia, and the Roman province of Asia, with its rich capital Ephesus, but the islands of the Ægean, Athens herself, and a large part of Greece, had acknowledged his dominion, and welcomed him as a deliverer. By the time that Sulla had crossed the Adriatic his task had swelled to the reconquest of half the empire.

When Sulla quitted Italy in B.C. 87, he determined to secure his own fortunes rather by the devotion of his soldiery than by the favour of any political party in Rome. With this object in view he would gorge them with plunder. In fact, he encouraged, instead of checking, their licence, and his path was

marked by devastation and sacrilege. The sacred treasures of Epidaurus and Olympia fell into his hands. Athens was stormed and sacked with more than the usual Roman barbarity. In Bœotia he encountered a vast army of Orientals, and totally routed them at the great battle of Chæronæa. U.C. 668, B.C. 86. Flaccus now appeared and summoned him to surrender his command, but at that moment Mithridates threw a second army within his reach, and in a second victory at Orchomenos, Sulla broke the power of the king of Pontus and cleared the stage of Greece for his conflict with the Roman consul. Meanwhile Flaccus was assassinated in a mutiny, and Fimbria promoted to his place by the soldiers. They however had no mind to cope with Sulla, but demanded to be led into Asia, there to ransack the provinces. Mithridates U.C. 669, B.C. 85. narrowly escaped falling into their hands, but was saved by Lucullus, Sulla's lieutenant. By this manœuvre Sulla secured the advantage of imposing his own terms upon him. He in fact surrendered Bithynia and Cappadocia, and the Roman province of Asia, with a large part of his fleets and treasures, and was admitted into amity with the republic. Sulla then turned suddenly on Fimbria, and without U.C. 670, B.C. 84. fighting won over his army by bribery. Fimbria refused the safe-conduct offered him, and fell upon his own sword.

With the news of Fimbria's death and the surrender of Mithridates, there reached Rome the announcement of Sulla's speedy return, and of his determination to punish his foes and those of the republic. The senate, half of which consisted of Marians, was greatly alarmed, yet, though they made an effort to pacify the conqueror, they forbad the consuls to arm for their own defence. Cinna and Carbo, the successor of Flaccus, disregarded their feeble interference, levied fresh troops, and invited the Samnites and Lucanians to join them. Cinna was soon after killed in a mutiny, and Carbo remained sole consul. His brief usurpation was a career of lawless violence. Sulla, who returned to Italy at the head of 30,000 devoted veterans, felt that he could despise any raw levies raised by such chiefs as Carbo, Sertorius, and the younger Marius. Nor did he dread the hostility of the Italians, who had little concert among themselves, and whose states he detached one by one from the common cause. Meanwhile Metellus Pius raised his standard in Liguria, and the young Pompeius in Picenum.

At this crisis, on July 6, B.C. 83, the city was thrown into consternation by a great fire which destroyed the Capitol and consumed even the Sibylline books. This destruction of the sanctuary of the nation seemed to portend the closing of one era and the opening of a new one in the destinies of Rome.

Sulla advanced triumphantly through Apulia and Campania. Carbo and the younger Marius had assumed the consulship at the commencement of the year B.C. 82. The former undertook to oppose Metellus and Pompeius in the north, and did so with some success. Marius, whose task it was to stop the advance of Sulla, was soon defeated, and retired into the fortress of Præneste. Sulla, leaving a small force to watch him, passed on to Etruria to grapple with Carbo, who defended himself gallantly at Clusium. After contesting several battles, Carbo was at length overthrown near Ravenna by Metellus, and eventually escaped to Africa. Sertorius had already fled to Spain.

Only Marius remained, and the Samnites under Pontius Telesinus. These brave mountaineers, passing by Præneste, made one gallant dash at Rome on the first of November. Sulla, however, was close behind them, and engaged them just outside the Colline gate. Sulla's own wing of the army was routed; but Crassus with the right wing saved the day and completely broke the Samnite force. Of the Italians 8,000 were made prisoners: all Roman officers found among them were put to the sword.

Pontius Telesinus, greviously wounded, was slain by the conqueror on the field of battle. He was the last of Rome's Italian enemies. He could but have hoped for one day of plunder and conflagration, and this being denied him he might be content to die among 50,000 brave men, of whom a full half were Romans. When the Prænestines saw the heads of the Italians and the Marians paraded before them they opened their gates, and young Marius caused his own slave to despatch him. A few cities, as Norba, Nola and Voltaterræ, held out for short periods, but in two years' time the struggle in Italy died out, and it only remained to crush the lingering resistance of the Marian party in Africa and Spain.

Up to this point, Sulla had been essentially a party leader. Perhaps the haughty jealousy of Marius and the contrast between the origin and manners of the two great captains, had inclined him more than anything else to identify himself with

the cause of the oligarchy. But the opposition he encountered in Italy from the Etrurians and Samnites expanded his views and transformed him from the chief of a Roman faction into the head of the Roman nation. He had reconquered the East, and disregarding with pitiless scorn the cries of the provincials, he had riveted their chains anew upon Greeks and Asiatics. Now he had reconquered Italy, and was prepared to treat the Italians with a like severity.

Sulla's first care was, however, to take a bloody revenge for the cruel proscriptions of Marius and Cinna. On the morning after the battle of the Colline gate his 8,000 Samnite prisoners were cut to pieces by his soldiers in cold blood in the Campus Martius. Præneste next felt the weight of his iron hand, and then returning to Rome he mounted the rostra and harangued the people. He vaunted his own irresistible power; promised kindness to those who obeyed him well; and threatened dire punishment against all of every rank who had provoked his indignation.

These words were a signal to his creatures. The massacre of the Marian party was at once begun, and many a private vengeance was wreaked under cover of the wholesale slaughter. The relatives of Marius naturally were the first to suffer, and Catilina hunted one of them to death with cruel torments. The corpse of the great warrior himself was torn from its grave on the banks of the Anio, and cast into the stream. The troubled ghost, according to the poet Lucan, continued to haunt the spot on the eve of impending revolutions.

Sulla, being questioned in the senate whether victims enough had been slain, produced a list of eighty names; two days later, 230, and the next day as many more were added. 'By and by,' he said, 'he might remember more.' The proscribed were outlawed, and a price set upon their heads, their property was confiscated, and their descendants made incapable of holding public office.

From December 82 to June 81, these authorised murders continued not only in Rome but in every city of Italy. The slaves and favourites of Sulla even sold the right of adding the names of any man's private foes to the list of the proscribed. No wonder that such frightful crimes aroused indignant murmurs among the Roman people.

Sulla took care to associate with himself as many as he

could in the guilt of these cruelties, and to make them conspicuous by the rewards with which he loaded them. On Catilina, the most unscrupulous of all, a man of blasted character and ruined fortune, he heaped golden favours. Crassus, 'the richest of the Romans,' now laid the foundation of his enormous wealth. Cnæus Pompeius, though he held aloof from the proscriptions, executed his master's vengeance upon captives taken in arms: he further divorced his wife and married Sulla's step-daughter Metella. Cæsar, then a youth of eighteen, was connected by blood with Marius and by marriage with Cinna. Sulla contented himself with requiring him to repudiate his wife. Cæsar refused, and fled into the mountains: the assassins were on his track, but so many pleaded in favour of his youth and innocence that Sulla consented to spare him, remarking at the time, 'In that young trifler there is more than one Marius!' Cæsar prudently withdrew from the scene of danger, and joined the army of the East.

The slaughter which took place in these proscriptions at Rome is thus estimated. Of senators from one to two hundred perished; of knights from two to three thousand; of the common people an unknown multitude. But the destruction of the Italians was far more sweeping. Whole cities were depopulated; the Samnite people were annihilated; and of all their cities Beneventum alone was left standing. The people of Prænestе were exterminated. The Etrurians suffered little less. The thriving cities of Spoletum, Volaterræ, and Interamna were given over to fire and sword. Fæsulæ was dismantled, and the new city of Florentia built out of its ruins. Throughout large districts all the chief people perished, all the proprietors were dispossessed. The void thus created was filled by the plantation of military colonies from end to end of the peninsula. As many as 120,000 of Sulla's veterans are said to have been thus established. In this great convulsion the traces of ancient manners and even of languages disappeared. Etruscan civilisation was buried out of sight, to be rediscovered after twenty centuries in the tombs of forgotten Lucumons.

It was now the turn of the provinces to suffer a like chastisement. Greece and Asia had already been scourged by Sulla. He now pursued his enemies throughout Sicily, Africa, Gaul and Spain. Metellus in the Cisalpine, Flaccus in the Narbonensis, Pompeius in Sicily, and Annius in Spain, exe-

cuted the tyrant's cruel behests. At the same time the unsubdued Thracians and the restless Mithridates threatened a new war in the East. The shores of Greece and Italy swarmed with Asiatic pirates. The Apennines from north to south were infested with hordes of ruined fugitives who had no resource left but robbery and violence. Property was insecure under the very walls of populous cities; and even free citizens were liable at any moment to be kidnapped and sold into slavery. Such was the ghastly state to which the civilised empire of the Romans had been reduced by anarchy and violence.

Though Sulla had returned to Rome laden with the spoils of the East, he soon stood in need of fresh supplies of money to maintain his government. Accordingly the provinces were loaded with fresh taxation. No matter what immunities had been promised, what treaties made, all were forced to contribute. So severe was the strain, that some cities were obliged to pledge their public lands, their temples, their ports, the very stones of their walls. Sulla sold the sovereignty of Egypt to Ptolemy Alexander II., requiring him to leave it by will to the Roman people, and donations were extorted from other kings and potentates. Thus did the shock of a Roman revolution carry desolation and suffering to the furthest limits of the empire.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

SULLA, AS DICTATOR, CARRIES OUT A RUTHLESS POLICY OF REACTION, AND DIES.

AFTER the battle of the Colline gate, Rome lay at the feet of Sulla; but so long as the consuls Marius and Carbo survived, he could exercise no lawful authority within the city. As proconsul, as imperator, he was omnipotent in his own camp, and accordingly he set up his prætorium in the Campus Martius, and from thence, while respecting the letter of the law, he trampled under foot its spirit. Before the end of the year both Marius and Carbo had perished by a violent death, and the field was cleared for Sulla's exaltation. His political

ideas took the form of violent reaction to the ancient oligarchy of the patrician families; and as they had often in times past had recourse to a dictator to repress the growing power of the commons, so now Sulla asked for and received from the obedient senate the unlimited authority of a dictator. Once more, after a lapse of 120 years, the citizens beheld the four-and-twenty lictors marshalled round the throne of a ruler who wielded supreme power both civil and military. Hitherto no man had held the dictator's office for more than six months: Sulla was to hold it so long as he deemed good. He was to reconstitute the commonwealth, and to this end the whole of their hardly won liberties were placed at his disposal by the Roman people. Consuls were elected in the year 81 to act as his subordinates. In the year B.C. 80 he himself was consul as well as dictator, with Metellus Pius for his colleague, but in the year following, though elected, he declined the consulate.

The dictator now set to work to restore so far as was practicable the old system, which gave to a few privileged families a complete ascendency in the state. Sulla, we have seen, had cut off 200 senators by his proscriptions. Marius had probably slaughtered an equal number. The remainder had been decimated on the field of battle. To replenish this void, the dictator selected 300 from the equestrian order, and the senate thus renovated seems to have numbered about 400. The vacancies which thenceforth occurred would be more than supplied by the succession of men who had filled high office. Thirty years later the number of senators was not less than 500. A seat in the senate had never been treated as a hereditary privilege at Rome, but the high offices, whose tenure alone gave access to the senate, had been restricted to one or two hundred families, which were thus sure of being represented in the great council. To these families Sulla wished to confine the entire legislative power. He repealed the lex Hortensia, by which the resolutions of the tribes received the force of law. He next restored to the senate the monopoly of judicial power, and transferred to their tribunal the quæstiones perpetuæ, the cognizance of many crimes which had hitherto been judged by the popular assembly. The tribunes were next deprived of their power of initiating new measures in the comitia tributa, and of their right of veto on the legislation of the senate. The office of tribune was further

made to incapacitate its holder from aspiring to any of the higher magistracies. By thus disparaging its leaders, Sulla counted upon depriving the popular assembly of its power. The comitia of the centuries was not meddled with. It was allowed to retain the election to the higher magistracies, in the confidence that wealth and dignity would have sufficient influence on the electors. The appointment of the pontiffs was, however, taken from the people, and the whole apparatus of the state religion once more placed in aristocratic hands. As a last security, the senate was made independent of the censorship, which the rival party had used to purge it for their own purposes.

Meanwhile the roll of citizens had been so diminished by the slaughter of the civil war that means must be found to recruit it. On this account the Italians were left in possession of the franchise. Ten thousand slaves had been left without masters by the proscriptions, and these Sulla contemptuously enfranchised, inscribing them on the list of his own gens—the Cornelian. We have already seen how the dictator had planted 120,000 veterans in military colonies, and endowed them with lands and the franchise. Doubtless he reckoned upon them to support his policy at need. But it turned out otherwise: these old soldiers, accustomed to scenes of violence, proved idle as husbandmen, discontented and turbulent as citizens.

The legislation of Sulla descended further into minute particulars of social and civil economy. He passed a law forbidding any man to hold the same office twice within ten years. He carefully regulated the authority of the proconsuls, and by a law of treason closely limited their power of independent action. He even hoped to revive the virtues of the ancients by sumptuary laws, which fixed the precise sums which might be spent on the pleasures of the table, and even the prices of the articles which should be consumed. As invariably happens in such cases, these laws soon became obsolete.

But though Sulla strove thus minutely to restrain his fellow-citizens, he was never master of his own violent caprices. Again and again he broke the laws he had himself enacted; and no man might with impunity thwart his will. Meanwhile his marvellous success inspired him with a fanatical belief in Fortune, the only divinity in whom he really believed, and whose favourite he claimed to be. By resigning power at the

moment of his highest exaltation he hoped to avert the Nemesis which haunted him with the prospect of a fatal reverse.

In the year 79 Sulla abdicated the dictatorship, saying that the work of reconstitution for which it had been given him was now accomplished. The Romans were amazed at this act of self-devotion, and beheld with awe the tyrant descend from his blood-stained tribunal and retire with unmoved composure into the privacy of a suburban villa. Aged and infirm, and sated perhaps with pleasure as well as power, he renounced public life only when his strength and spirits were rapidly failing him. Surrounded by buffoons and dancers, he continued a sensualist to the last, yet he did not abandon literature, and dictated memoirs of his own life almost in his dying moments. Though stained with the blood of so many thousands, and tormented by a loathsome disease, he quitted life without remorse or repining. Fearful perhaps of the fate of Marius, he directed his body to be burned and not buried, as had been the custom of his house. His monument in the Campus Martius bore an inscription attributed to himself, which stated that none of his friends ever did him a kindness, and none of his foes a wrong, without being largely requited. Sulla died in the year B.C. 78, at the age of sixty.

U.C. 675, B.C. 79.

Slowly, and with many a painful struggle, had Rome outgrown the limits of a rustic municipality. The few hundred families which at first sufficed for all the functions of her government had been compelled to incorporate allies and rivals into their body and to enlarge their institutions. Sulla tried hard to revive the spirit of the old restrictions. The old families no longer existed: he replaced them with a newer growth, but he would have confined the government of the empire to this small section of the people. The attempt was blind and bigoted; it was not less futile than unjust, and though perhaps many of his contemporaries were as wanting in enlightenment as Sulla himself, and popular prejudice favoured his views, he was none the less fighting against nature. Ten years sufficed to overthrow the whole structure of his reactionary legislation. The champions of a more liberal policy sprang up in constant succession, and carried on the work of union and comprehension which was everywhere in progress. The old spirit of exclusiveness, which had so long fatally

dominated the communities of Greece and Italy, was giving way to a general desire for unity. By the development of the mighty empire of Rome, Providence was preparing mankind for the reception of one law and one religion.

But though Sulla's domestic policy came to nought, he had not lived in vain. As dictator he wasted his strength in attempting the impossible; as proconsul he saved Rome. The revolt of Greece and Asia, with a man of genius like Mithridates at its head, might have been fraught with as much danger to Rome as that which menaced her when Hannibal was stirring up the Gauls and the Samnites to rebellion. The victory of Chæronæa re-established the Roman empire over Greece, never again to be shaken there. Sulla chased the invader back to Asia, bound him by treaties, and compelled him by armed force to abstain from further meddling with the Roman provinces; and though it took twenty years more to subdue Mithridates completely, yet, for the work he accomplished in averting this crisis, Sulla deserves to be immortalised in the annals of Rome.

CHAPTER XXXV.

SCANDALOUS ABUSES IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROVINCES.

WE have seen that Sulla had restored to the senate the monopoly of the judicia. No man of inferior rank could judge one of the Optimates for his misdeeds. Protected by this powerful defence, the Optimates now pushed to its utmost limit the system of violence and extortion under which they had long misgoverned the provinces. They could treat with scorn the 'new men'—the men of talents and education, but of moderate birth and fortune—many of whom were eager to force themselves into notice by denouncing the crimes of their superiors. But the distress of the provinces became at last too bitter to be borne. They supplied a mass of discontent always ready to the hand of an agitator. Thus a second period of civil war now opens, outside of Italy, with the revolt of the

Spaniards in the West, and the maritime confederacy of the pirates in the East.

The provinces had always been governed on the principle that the native races were to be treated as conquered subjects. The government, civil and military, was quartered upon the inhabitants. Houses and establishments must be provided, and the entire charge for the maintenance of the proconsul and his retinue must be borne by the local revenues. It is true that the proconsul was supposed to serve the state gratuitously, but in practice he was left free to remunerate himself by every kind of extortion, and no remedy existed for the most arbitrary injustice. The legions were provisioned and paid at the cost of the provincials. The produce of the land was tithed to furnish tribute to the conquering city, and both this and other taxes were farmed by Roman contractors, who made large fortunes by the business, and who were encouraged rather than checked in their extortions by public opinion at home. But the rulers of the world were not content with the extortion of money from their subjects. Objects of art were sought for and seized with cruel rapacity: every proconsul, quæstor, and tribune must bring home with him some trophies of this kind. Statues and pictures, marble columns, gold and gems, were pillaged from the temples and carried off to Rome. Usury was another instrument of oppression, and as no compunction was shown in levying the taxes, whole communities were sometimes driven to pledge their revenues to Roman money-lenders. These last were empowered by law to recover their dues by the severest process. In one case the agent of a noble Roman shut up the senators of a provincial town in their curia, till five of them died of starvation, to recover the debts due to his principal.

On rare occasions indeed a province might enjoy the sweets of revenge, though with little prospect of redress or security for the future. The popular leaders and orators hungered in vain for a share of these golden spoils, and, being excluded from them, they affected sympathy with the provincials and high-minded indignation against their oppressors. From time to time cases arose of such glaring and infamous misgovernment, that it was impossible for any tribunal to leave them unpunished. Among the remains of Roman eloquence preserved to us are more than one of these indictments. In Cicero's famous

orations against Verres is found a graphic portrait of a provincial tyrant.

About the time of Sulla's abdication, Caius Verres, a young noble, accompanied the prætor Dolabella to his government of Cilicia. As he passed along he extorted a sum of money from the chief magistrate of Sicyon, by smoking him with a fire of green wood in a close chamber till he gave in. At Athens, at Delos, at Chios, Erythræa, and Halicarnassus he shared with his chief the plunder of the temples. At Samos Verres stripped a famous temple on his own account. At Perga he scraped the heavy coat of gilding from the statue of Diana. From Miletus he stole a fine ship provided for his conveyance. At Lampsacus he sought to dishonour the daughter of the first citizen of the place. Being resisted by her father and brother, he charged them with attempting his life, and the governor of the province obliged him by cutting off both their heads. Such were the atrocities of the young ruffian while yet a mere dependent of the proconsul. Being appointed quæstor, he quickly amassed from two to three millions of sesterces beyond the requisitions of the public service.

Verres could now pay for his election to the prætorship, and one year later he started as proprætor for the rich province of Sicily. Once there, he set to work to make money. He sold everything—his patronage and his decisions, making sport of the laws, of the religion, the fortunes, and the lives of the provincials. Not a single senator of the sixty-five cities of the island was elected without paying his bribe to the proprætor. He levied for his own profit many hundreds of thousands of bushels of grain beyond the authorised tithe. So ruinous were his exactions that the country was threatened with depopulation. In less than three years, out of 778 farms only 333 remained in cultivation. The people refused to till the land if Verres alone was to reap the harvest.

But Verres was an amateur and an antiquary, and had a taste for art as well as a thirst for lucre. Wherever he stopped he extorted gems, vases, trinkets, antiques, curiosities, ornaments of gold and silver, even statues of the gods the objects of local worship, from anyone who happened to possess them. No one dared to complain. Antiochus, king of Syria, was robbed in this way of a splendid candelabrum enriched with jewels which he was about to dedicate in the Capitol at Rome. All

these treasures were sent off to Italy to decorate the villa of the proprætor. The Roman treasury suffered as well as the Sicilian people; for Verres embezzled the sums advanced to pay for the supply of corn to the city. He left the fleet without equipments, and when it was worsted by the pirates he executed the officers for cowardice. He crowned his enormities by crucifying a Roman trader on the beach in sight of Italy, that he might address to his native shores the ineffectual cry, 'I am a Roman citizen.'

Such was the charge brought by Cicero against Verres, and though he was backed by all the influence of his party, he dared not meet it. Similar impeachments were frequently brought forward by young and popular orators against other provincial governors. But they rarely produced any result. If one proconsul was condemned, his successors were only the more eager to grasp the wealth which might secure their acquittal. They boasted that three years of office would suffice: the first to make their own fortunes, the second to reward their followers, the third to purchase the suffrages of their judges. The sordid rapacity of the provincial governors rendered the dominion of Rome as formidable in peace as was her hostility in war. It grew with her growing luxury and corruption, and side by side with it grew and increased the shameless venality of the tribunals. The knights were justified in pointing to the corruption of the senatorial judges, and protesting that during the forty years they had sat upon the judicial bench no such prostitution of justice had existed. The truth was that the vices of the provincial governments were but symptoms of a general relaxation of morality. On the one hand the spread of foreign conquests and the opening of new sources of wealth had inflamed cupidity and ambition. On the other, half a century of civil war had broken down the old respect for law and order. The constitution of Sulla was now to be assailed by the knights, but this time the struggle was to be conducted, not on the field of battle, but in the law-courts.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

EMINENT POSITION OF POMPEIUS 'MAGNUS.'—RISE OF M. CRASSUS AND OF CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR.

THE civil wars had lopped the heads of every Roman faction. Sertorius and Perperna, the most prominent survivors of the Marian party, had escaped to Spain and there raised the standard of revolt against the republic itself. After the death of Sulla the senatorial party could still reckon among its leaders a Metellus, a Catulus, and a Lepidus, but these, although of the highest birth, were none of them men of commanding ability or influence. Both Metellus and Catulus were thoroughly trusted by the senate, and had done good service in keeping the legions true to the aristocratic government. Lepidus, on the other hand, although the chief of the illustrious Æmilian gens, failed to secure the confidence of the senate. He was connected by marriage with the popular party, and was thought likely to desert his own order. He was about fifty years of age. Lucullus and Crassus, ten years his juniors, had attained to high distinction and were ambitious of rising yet higher.

In the presence of such chiefs there was room enough for younger and better men to rise to the head of affairs.

Cnæus Pompeius was but thirty years of age. The son of Strabo, a soldier of fortune, he had been cradled in the camp, and made himself the idol of the soldiers.

He carried over the army to Sulla at a critical moment, but he always contrived to maintain the personal devotion of the soldiers to himself. At the dictator's bidding he pursued the Marian party in the Cisalpine, in Africa, and in Spain, and showed himself capable of being a cruel partisan. Like Sulla, he was fond of literature and practised the art of public speaking. He was neither covetous nor licentious, a great dissembler, sometimes benign and affable, sometimes haughty and morose, but devoid of those warm and generous qualities which make and retain friends. Sulla however was jealous of his popularity, and required him to disband his troops in Africa. Pompeius replied by leading them to Rome: the whole city went out to meet him, and Sulla was compelled to head the procession, and hail the youthful conqueror with the title of 'Magnus.'

Pompeius, though not yet a senator, demanded and obtained a triumph. The nobles for the most part mistrusted the youthful chieftain.

Pompeius had not yet held any civil office, and being too young to sue legally for the consulship, he exerted his influence to procure the election of Lepidus as an avowed opponent of Sulla's policy. As soon as Sulla died, Lepidus began to talk of repealing his laws, but Pompeius affected to hold the balance, and threw his weight into the scale of the other consul Catulus. Lepidus proclaimed the restoration of the powers of the tribunate. The senate was amazed at his audacity, but submitted, merely binding the two consuls by oath to keep the peace. On the expiry of his year of office Lepidus assumed the government of the Narbonensis, and there throwing off the mask he rallied the Marian party and raised the standard of rebellion. Junius Brutus, the governor of the Cisalpine, supported him, and the two advanced to the Milvian bridge, a few miles only from the city. They were opposed by Catulus and Pompeius, who commanded the forces of the senate. The rebels suffered three defeats. Lepidus escaped to Sardinia, where he died of fever. Brutus was captured, and the revolt was quickly put down, happily without sanguinary reprisals being taken. The wariest of the Marians had held aloof from this precipitate movement, and Perperna led the remnant of the beaten army to swell the forces of Sertorius in Spain.

U.C. 677, B.C. 77.

Sertorius, a Sabine by birth, had taken a prominent part with Marius in the civil wars, but was untainted with the guilt of the proscriptions. Under the ascendency of Sulla he withdrew into Spain, where he was hailed by the provincials as a deliverer from the iniquitous proconsular government. Driven out of Spain by the armies of the dictator, he took refuge in Africa, where he gained friends and resources, and defeated an army sent against him by Sulla. From Africa he crossed at the call of the Lusitanians into Spain, and placed himself at the head of a widespread revolt. Metellus, who commanded for the senate, had neither the vigour nor ability to cope with Sertorius, who broke several armies of the republic, and for the moment established an independent sovereignty in the peninsula. But he had now to encounter the whole power of Rome wielded by the young Pompeius. This aspiring warrior had refused to

disband his legions, but was willing to lead them against the enemies of the republic. Armed with proconsular powers, he traversed Gaul and Spain, and for some time met with doubtful success in the conflict with Sertorius. On the retirement of Metellus the abilities of Pompeius came into full play. Meanwhile Sertorius had foolishly assumed the airs of a Roman tyrant, rather than a patriot champion, and finding himself threatened in consequence with desertion, he is said to have caused the massacre of the children of the chiefs whom he kept as hostages under the pretence of educating them. This reckless crime broke his party in pieces. Perperna caused him to be assassinated, and stepped into his place at the head of the Marian army, but he was overthrown and captured in the first engagement, and sought to ransom his life by disclosing the names of his adherents in the city. Pompeius refused to inspect the list. The captive was put to death, and the rebellion finally quenched. Pompeius, in reconstituting the governments of Spain and. Gaul, found means to attach to himself a strong party of personal adherents. B.C. 71. U.C. 683,

The struggle of Sertorius in Spain had lasted eight years. Meanwhile the popular party in Rome were recovering their confidence. In the year 75 the scarcity of grain caused much discontent and agitation; Aurelius Cotta the consul consented to restore the ancient privileges and status of the tribunes, and the tribune Oppius ventured to exercise his veto without opposition from the senate. At the same time the outcry against the infamies of the provincial governors became louder than ever, and a demand arose for purer tribunals to put down the mischief. Pompeius was calling for increased support: the Oriental pirates were sacking towns and temples on the Italian coast: Mithridates was threatening a second irruption into the eastern provinces. Not money only but men were in request to recruit the legions and defend the state. Then it was that Licinius the tribune stood forth, and exhorted the people to withhold their names until the senate yielded to their just demands. The senate temporised; and on a vague promise that Pompeius on his return would satisfy the popular claims, the tribunes withdrew their opposition.

Among the perils of this eventful period which had emboldened the tribunes was an outbreak of gladiators in Campania, which spread to a formidable insurrection. The shows

of the arena were now the favourite diversion of the Romans. The majority of the gladiators were slaves, captives, and criminals. A troop or family of these unfortunates broke loose at Capua, and after pillaging an armourer's shop, established themselves in the crater of Vesuvius, at that time quiescent. Their leader was Spartacus, a Thracian of great strength and courage, and endowed with a natural genius for command. Attacked by a detachment sent against them from Capua, they exchanged their own imperfect weapons for the arms and armour left upon the field. Their numbers were fast recruited by Apulian shepherds, restless military colonists, and others who hungered for plunder. In the course of three years the numbers of Spartacus' band were reckoned at forty, seventy, and even a hundred thousand. Though master for a time of Southern Italy and of the plunder of many cities, Spartacus received no countenance from the old Italian tribes, and perceiving his weakness, he wished to lead his warriors across the Alps to their own homes in Gaul and Thrace. But the plunder of all Italy seemed within their reach, and they despised his warnings. Spartacus ignominiously defeated both the consuls at the head of well-appointed armies; but dissensions arose, his forces lost cohesion, and were cut off in detail, and he led the remnant towards Sicily, in the hope of reviving the servile war of half a century before. At the extreme limit of Italy he was caught and enclosed by Crassus, but bursting through the Roman lines with a small force, he hurried northwards, and for a time Rome seemed to lie at his mercy. Crassus urged the senate to recall Lucullus from Asia and Pompeius from Spain; then, fearing lest his rivals should rob him of his glory, he redoubled his efforts and finally succeeded in capturing and slaying Spartacus; but Pompeius arrived in time to share in the destruction of the fugitives, and his partial countrymen awarded him the honours of the victory.

U.C. 681, B.C. 73.

Pompeius had inscribed upon his trophy in the Pyrenees that he had taken 876 cities between the Alps and the Pillars of Hercules. This statement points us to a fact of much deeper significance. Pompeius had not merely subdued and spoiled so many fortresses; he had reorganised the government of every community. He had disposed, not merely of offices, but of estates and territories, in such a way as to bind to himself a

whole tribe of partisans, clients, and dependents, and to transform one-half of the empire into a province of his own. This policy of forming an empire within an empire was something new in the annals of Roman ambition, but was carried out still more fully by his great rival, Julius Cæsar. When Pompeius returned to Rome the greatest of her children, he might doubtless have seized the reins of government by force; but he preferred to trust to his former popularity, and though he still wanted some years to the legitimate age for the consulship, and had served none of the inferior magistracies, he had but to ask and at once to be elected consul by the acclamations of a grateful people. Crassus, though far from popular, received the support of Pompeius, and was chosen as his colleague. U.C. 683, B.C. 71.

M. Licinius Crassus was among the foremost men of his time. He belonged to a noble family proverbial for its wealth, but he lost his patrimony in the civil wars of Marius, and thenceforward, as a partisan of Sulla, he devoted himself to amassing riches. He made money as a speculator, as a usurer, as a pleader, and by other devices. He was surrounded by a numerous following of mortgagees and debtors, and was trusted as a safe and shrewd politician by the men of money who were amassing fortunes out of the spoil of the provinces. The cause of the knights found a steadfast patron in M. Crassus, and though his name was not so brilliant as that of Pompeius, his influence was no mean power in the state.

A third aspirant to power, young and yet unknown to fame, now enters upon the scene. Caius Julius Cæsar, the greatest name in history, was descended from a patrician family which pretended to trace its origin to Iulus, the son of Æneas, by the goddess Venus. The Julii, as was natural, had generally sided with the faction of the nobles, but Marius had married a Julia, and the young Caius, his nephew, took part with him. He confirmed this connection by espousing a daughter of Cinna, and deemed himself the rightful heir to the leadership of the popular cause. He perceived, as did many others, that the republican form of the government was become a hollow fiction, and that circumstances were tending to prepare the Roman people for subjection to a single ruler. To this revolution he lent his whole strength with a frankness which laid him open to attack. But though suspected, feared, and denounced,

Cæsar was beloved more than any public man in Rome by all who came under the fascination of his genial and generous nature.

No one yet foresaw his future eminence. Cicero, indeed, could not fail to mark his brilliant talents and personal beauty, but when he saw him studiously disposing his curling locks and his trailing robe, he declared that so frivolous a creature could never endanger the institutions of his country. Cæsar, indeed, was at that time chiefly known as a leader of fashion among the dissolute youth of his class; but even his early exploits betray the buoyant self-confidence of his nature. At the siege of Mitylene he merited a civic crown by saving the lives of his fellow-soldiers. When captured by pirates, he scornfully doubled the ransom they demanded, but at the same time pledged himself to bring them to punishment, a promise which he amply redeemed. When he went as quæstor into Spain, he wept, it is said, at the sight of a statue of Alexander, who had already conquered a world at the age at which his own public career was only just commencing.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

POMPEIUS CLEARS THE SEA OF PIRATES AND CONQUERS THE EAST.

THE few years which had elapsed since the death of Sulla had witnessed a great change in the attitude of parties. Up to that time, with a few exceptions, as in the case of the Gracchi, every statesman's birth and connections determined his course in politics, and attached him either to the senatorial or the popular party accordingly. From that time forward the interests of party ceased to be identified with those of class: the men who aspired to power all issued from the ranks of the nobility, and whether they favoured the popular cause, as they one and all professed to do, or whether they gave a temporary support to the senatorial faction, they were guided, not by devotion to the public interests, but by the desire of personal self-aggrandisement.

Pompeius and Crassus had entered on their consulship in

the year B.C. 70, not without grave suspicion on the part of the nobles of the popular reforms they might be disposed to carry out. The consuls soon justified these apprehensions. Their first step towards securing popular favour was to reverse the measures of Sulla, already shaken, and to restore to the tribunes of the people their ancient prerogatives. In this they were supported by the vigorous agitation of the youthful Cæsar, and the resistance of the senate was overborne. The provincials at once found powerful champions willing to listen to their indignant complaints, and the popular leaders resolved to bring the character of the judges to the test.

Cæsar threw himself forward to expose the iniquities of Dolabella in Cilicia and of Antonius in Achaia. Both culprits were scandalously acquitted. Pompeius himself encouraged the rising orator, M. Tullius Cicero, to denounce the crimes of Verres. This man was powerfully supported. His defence was undertaken by Hortensius, the ablest advocate in Rome, the acknowledged 'king of the law courts.' It was further hoped, by delaying the trial, to secure the appointment of judges favourable to the accused. The prosecutor was young and little known, being a new man, a municipal of Arpinum, of knightly family, but of no further distinction. He had indeed already pleaded with marked ability, and had shown much spirit in resisting the tyranny of Sulla. As quæstor in Sicily he had been active and upright, and the Sicilians now enlisted his services in their behalf. Cicero bestirred himself to collect his evidence, and strenuously resisted the call for delay. The consuls were known to approve the prosecution, and the result was that Verres shrank from the trial and retired into voluntary exile. Cicero, in fact, never delivered his famous orations, but he published them as an impeachment of the system against which they were directed; and so great was the effect produced by them, that the consuls ventured at once to restore to the knights their share in the judicia. Pompeius next required the censors to purge the list of the senate, a function of which Sulla had deprived them. Sixty-four senators were removed from the order, and the whole body was made to feel that it was the instrument of the commonwealth and not its master. All the blood of Sulla's proscriptions had secured for his work only eight years of existence.

Pompeius, consul though he was, belonged only to the equestrian order. As such he was the more readily recognised by the people as their champion. His popularity intoxicated him and inflamed his vanity. He required Crassus to treat him with obsequious respect. To the multitude he assumed an air of haughty reserve. By degrees he withdrew from the publicity of the Forum, and affected so much of royalty in his manners, that the people became estranged from him. At the end of two years he perceived that he risked losing their favour entirely unless he could kindle it anew by some striking exploit. An occasion soon offered worthy of his genius.

The Mediterranean, the great highway of ancient commerce, swarmed with pirates. From Greece, from Asia, and, above all, from Cilicia, thousands of mariners had escaped from the iron grasp of Roman conquest and taken to the free life of sea rovers. Their ships were reckoned at a thousand. Cities and temples lay at their mercy. Their streamers were gilded, their oars inlaid with silver, their sails were dyed with Tyrian purple. Such were the romantic stories current about them. They took special delight in displaying their pride and petulance towards Rome and her citizens. Misenum, Caieta, even Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, had suffered from their marauding visits. Two prætors were carried off from the mainland with their lictors and ensigns: travellers were stopped and plundered on the Appian Way. Rome would not rouse herself to chastise them, until, in an evil moment for their own security, they attacked the convoys of grain ships, and cut off the supplies of food destined for the imperial city. Servilius first, and after him Metellus, had attacked their strongholds in Cilicia and driven them out to sea; but on their own element they still held their own against the power of Rome.

U.C. 676, B.C. 78.

When, however, the corn ships of Sicily and Africa failed to arrive, and the largesses of grain were abruptly stopped, when famine seemed to be imminent, the people, in their panic, adopted a desperate remedy. In the year 67 the tribune Gabinius proposed that some man of consular rank should be invested for three years with absolute authority over all the waters of the Mediterranean, together with its coasts for fifty miles inland. Despite the alarm and opposition of the senators, the motion was carried: Pompeius was acclaimed, and a force

of 120,000 infantry, 5,000 cavalry, and 500 galleys placed under his orders. The appointment of Pompeius put an end to the crisis, and the price of provisions immediately fell. The new admiral chose twenty-four senators for his lieutenants, and divided the Mediterranean into thirteen portions, appointing a squadron and commander for each. By these tactics he soon captured the greater part of the pirate ships, and could boast that in forty days he had completely cleared the Western waters. Such of them as escaped fled with all speed to Cilicia, chased by Pompeius himself with a select squadron. In their own waters they offered battle, but were routed and chased to their fortress of Coracesium. Here the moderation of their conqueror encouraged them to capitulate, and Pompeius was satisfied with dispersing them in small parties among the neighbouring cities. The plague of piracy was stayed for a time at least, and the victor deserves the credit of one of the most successful operations of Roman warfare.

As the favourite of the people, Pompeius was vigorously supported by Cæsar, who was now more closely connected with him by marriage with one of his kinswomen. Cæsar, however, was covertly advancing his own schemes. He desired to detach Pompeius from the senate, and to frustrate the project, which he and Cicero seemed to entertain, of uniting the rival orders under a virtual dictatorship. Cæsar's idea was to attain to sovereignty by using the championship of one faction for the coercion of all the others.

Pompeius loved the forms of the constitution only because they could so easily be relaxed for his convenience. Supreme power he would not seize, because he expected it to be thrust upon him. He loved extraordinary commissions as tokens of his virtual sovereignty; and Cæsar liked them too as steps in the direction of monarchy. Moreover, Cæsar desired the absence of Pompeius from the city to make room for his own intrigues there. Three months had sufficed for the suppression of the pirates. Another pretext was not wanting for conferring on the successful imperator a second command not less extensive and more permanent. Mithridates was again in arms; the East was in a blaze of rebellion, and the generals of the republic were receding before it.

In the year 74 Lucullus had been consul, and Gaul had been assigned to him as his province, but he coveted the

splendour of an Eastern command, and by great efforts and ignoble condescensions he contrived to get his destination altered to Cilicia.

Lucullus crossed into Asia with a single legion to receive the obedience of the forces still posted beyond the Ægæan. Here he at once set to work to restore the discipline of the soldiers, and to repress the cruel excesses both of the military and civil powers towards the provincials. Mithridates was already in the field at the head of 150,000 men, trained to the use of Roman weapons, and relieved from the luxurious encumbrances usually fatal to Oriental armies. The native population welcomed him as an avenger. For four years the contest was waged, and the success of Lucullus was at last signal. Mithridates, expelled from Pontus, took refuge with Tigranes, king of Armenia, who, trusting in the invincible strength of his mailed cavalry and the difficult nature of his mountainous country, defied the forces of the republic. The kingdom of Armenia was then at the height of its power. No longer confined to the mountain tract in which the Euphrates and the Tigris rise, it stretched from the Euxine to the Caspian and encroached westwards upon Cilicia, Cappadocia, and a large part of Syria. In the great battle of Tigranocerta the Armenian king first learnt the irresistible might of Roman valour. His mailed horsemen were cut to pieces, and Lucullus would have pushed on to Artaxata the capital, but for the murmurs of his soldiers. Turning to the right, he captured Nisibis; but the soldiers were weary of their long and distant service; the officials whose rapacity Lucullus had checked made their voices heard at Rome; the demagogues, jealous of his splendid success, charged him with protracting the war for the sake of plunder; and just as he was on the point of crushing Mithridates with his whole force, he received from Rome the unreasonable command to send back a portion of his troops. His successes were at once arrested and reversed, and the provinces suffered from fresh incursions.

This vacillation in the policy of the government had been brought about by the tribunes in the interest of Pompeius. It was represented that Lucullus had failed in his contest with Mithridates, and the tribune Manilius proposed to confer upon Pompeius enormous powers for the destruction of the enemy. Unlike the bill of Gabinius, this proposal of Manilius was not

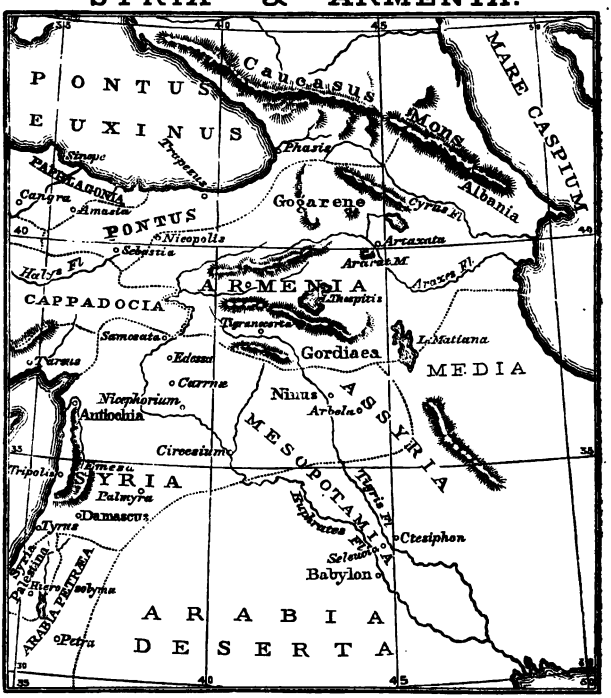
justified by necessity: it was a device for the gratification of unlawful ambition. The people, however, supported it with acclamations; the eloquence of Cicero recommended it to waverers; Cæsar and Crassus smiled upon it; and the dissuasions of Catulus and Hortensius were overborne. Pompeius was still abroad when the appointment was notified to him. He pretended to accept it unwillingly, but it was well known that he was burning with envy of Lucullus' brilliant command, and longing to eclipse the triumphs of his rival in the distant regions of the East. When the two generals met they scarcely dissembled their mutual jealousy. The one disregarded every disposition made by his predecessor, and disparaged his exploits; the other could retort that Pompeius, as usual, had come to crush a foe already broken, and to snatch the laurels won by other hands. In fact, the lictors of Lucullus bore fasces wreathed with fresh green laurel: those of his rival, issuing from an arid desert, had only withered branches to exhibit. The lictors of the one offered some of their fresh leaves to the others, and this was taken as an omen that Pompeius was about to gather the reward of his predecessor's victories. U.C. 688, B.C. 66.

On his return to Rome, the people aggravated their ill-treatment of Lucullus by withholding for three years the triumph he had so justly merited. But he paid little heed to their conduct. He had not ruled the East for seven years without amassing vast wealth, and he now contentedly retired to the privacy of his villa to enjoy it. The sumptuous splendour of his banquets has passed into a proverb. His gardens, his pictures and statues, his library open to public use, formed a new era in the culture of his countrymen. Pompeius might ridicule him as a 'Xerxes togatus,' a retired Xerxes; but he was philosopher enough to smile at these jests, and to receive his ancient rival on friendly terms.

No sooner was the imperium transferred to Pompeius than Mithridates sued for peace. Unconditional submission was required of him, and he girded himself once more for war. But the Roman army was twice as numerous as that of their enemy, and a battle on the banks of the Lycus in Armenia gave a complete victory to the republic. Mithridates, failing to find a refuge in Armenia, escaped through the Caucasus into Colchis. Armenia, distracted by the intrigues of its princes, fell com-

pletely under the power of Pompeius; and now the Romans stood face to face with the Parthians on the banks of the Euphrates, neither side venturing to attack the other. In the spring of 65, Pompeius pressed on as far as the Phasis in pursuit of the fugitive Mithridates; the next winter he passed in

SYRIA & ARMENIA.



Pontus, indulging his soldiers in all the license which Lucullus had so sternly repressed. Then, finding that the Euxine and the Caspian were barren both of fame and booty, he turned his steps southward, hoping that the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf might reward him with the wealth of Cyrus and the renown of Alexander.

In the spring of B.C. 64 Pompeius crossed the Taurus and

marched upon Syria, which, together with Phœnicia, he quickly reduced to a Roman province. Antiochus, the last of the Seleucidæ, was relegated to a petty sovereignty, and the Euphrates was proclaimed to be the boundary of the empire. The realm of Palestine to the southward owed its independence to the heroism of the Maccabæan family, to whose representative the Jewish people continued to pay willing homage. But now, two brothers, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, contested the priesthood, to which the temporal sovereignty was attached. Aristobulus, favoured by the mass of the people, had expelled his elder brother, and proclaimed himself king. Hyrcanus appealed to Pompeius, who undertook to restore him to his throne.

The Jews, however, took up arms in defence of their own choice. They were soon driven into the fortress of Jerusalem, which, after a three months' siege, was stormed on a day of religious ceremonial. Pompeius, in defiance of all remonstrances, penetrated into the Holy of Holies, but he abstained from rifling the temple of its treasures, and contented himself with reconstituting the government in dependence upon the republic. At this point the sudden death of Mithridates recalled the proconsul to dispose of his vacant throne. U.C. 691, B.C. 63.

The aged king, driven beyond the Caucasus, had established himself in the Cimmerian Chersonesus. There he revolved new dreams of aggression. He conceived the scheme of uniting the wild hordes of Scythia with the restless tribes of Thrace, and leading the huge barbarian host through the eastern gorges of the Alps, to ravage Italy itself. But the plan was never executed. He fell a victim to a conspiracy of his own favourite son Pharnaces, whose life he had once spared when taken in rebellion. He is said to have so fortified his system that poison took no effect upon him, and he was obliged to throw himself on the sword of a slave. Pharnaces was allowed to retain the kingdom of the Bosporus. The kingdoms of Galatia, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia were settled upon native princes. Thirty-nine cities were founded or repeopled by Pompeius. The eastern frontier, from the Lycus to the Jordan, was organised under Roman proconsuls or native vassals, while Pontus, Cilicia, Syria, and Phœnicia were definitively inscribed upon the list of provinces.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

M. PORCIUS CATO. JULIUS CÆSAR IS ELECTED CHIEF PONTIFF. THE CATILINARIAN CONSPIRACY.

DURING the absence of Pompeius in Asia the extreme section of the oligarchical party ranged themselves under their natural chiefs—men of ancient lineage, such as Catulus, Lucullus, and Marcellus. But none of these were conspicuous either for ability or energy, and their best speaker, Hortensius, was being speedily eclipsed by the upstart Cicero. But there was one man in their ranks, a plebeian by extraction, in whose zeal and courage, however defective his judgment, they could securely confide.

Marcus Porcius Cato was the great-grandson of Cato the Censor, a name long revered for the probity and simplicity of its bearer. Like his ancestor, he believed in the mission of a superior caste to govern Rome, of a superior race to rule the world. Of a temper naturally humane, he schooled himself to maintain the doctrine of absolute authority in the state and in the family. Yet he alone of his party sighed over the atrocities with which the triumphs of the aristocrats under Sulla had been stained. Austere by habit, frugal and of simple tastes, he rose above the temptations of his class to rapine and extortion. A disciple of the Stoic philosophy, he aimed at strict integrity of conduct, while, as a priest of Apollo, he studied bodily self-denial and practised the religion of asceticism. Doubtless, in public life, he fell short at times of his high principles: while, in private, he was puffed up with conceit of his own virtues, confident in his judgments, inaccessible to generous impulses, caustic in his remarks on others, the blind slave of forms and of prejudices. A party composed of such men as Cato would have been ill-matched with the crafty intriguers opposed to them. On the other hand, the chiefs of the opposite faction, Pompeius, Crassus, and Cæsar, were all working independently towards the abasement of the old governing party of the Optimates. Cicero, who, like them, sought principally his own personal advancement, lent them his powerful aid. Cæsar had made himself a marked man as early as B.C. 68, by defying the law of Sulla, and exhibiting the bust of Marius among the

images of his family. He had made an oration over his aunt Julia, the widow of the proscribed hero, and had pleaded, not in vain, for an amnesty to some of the Marian exiles. After his return from the quæstorship in Spain, he rose to be ædile, and, in spite of 1,300 talents of debts, delighted the people with the lavish munificence of his shows, the cost of which was defrayed by his rich colleague Bibulus. U.C. 689, B.C. 65.

As soon as he became ædile, Cæsar demanded a mission to reduce Egypt to the form of a province. That country, through which all the commerce of the East already passed, was certain to prove a mine of wealth to any Roman officer who should govern it. Crassus and Cæsar disputed its plunder, but the Optimates were eager to inflict a rebuff on their enemy. Mustering all their forces, they postponed the question about Egypt, and invited Cæsar instead to preside over the tribunal which inquired into cases of murder. Cæsar seized the opportunity to brand with a legal stigma the dictatorship of Sulla by condemning two obscure wretches who had been implicated in the guilt of his proscriptions. He next caused Rabirius, an aged senator, to be charged before him with the murder of Saturninus. Cicero pleaded for him, but in vain. Rabirius appealed to the people, and though the deed had been done *thirty-six* years before, and it was notorious that Rabirius had not been guilty of it, yet the people were fiercely excited, and would certainly have defied all justice and mercy for the sake of a party triumph, had not the prætor struck the flag on the Janiculum while the tribes were assembled. This ancient signal of the approach of an Etrurian enemy was equivalent to an immediate call to arms. It was still respected: the assembly was dissolved, and the people, who had just before clamoured for innocent blood, laughed at the trick by which their fury had been arrested. Cæsar had shown his power, and was content to let the matter drop.

The leaders of the people determined to reward so bold a champion by getting him elected to the office of chief pontiff, which would render his person inviolable. Neither the laxity of his morals nor his contempt for religion need be any bar to Cæsar's advancement to this high office. His duties would be simply ceremonial. Catulus competed with him for the dignity, and offered him a bribe to withdraw. But the Optimates were

planning a charge of treason against him, and the pontificate was necessary to his safety. When he left the house, he said to his mother, 'This day your son will be either chief pontiff or an exile.' Cæsar was triumphantly elected.

For some years past rumours had been rife in the city of a revolutionary conspiracy of the darkest kind. The nobles had sounded the alarm, and had insinuated that Cæsar, Crassus, and other august citizens, whom they feared and hated, were privy to the plot. Doubts have indeed been raised whether the whole story of this conspiracy was not invented by the party of the Optimates, but the burning eloquence of Cicero and the plain testimony of Sallust must convince any impartial student that the plot was a terrible reality.

The wealth and luxury introduced into Rome by the conquest of the East had grievously corrupted the once simple character of the Roman citizens. Dissipation had reduced the noblest houses to beggary, while a few crafty usurers fattened on the plunder of a multitude of spendthrifts. Political and private gambling had converted men of birth and station into needy adventurers, all the more dangerous from their high connections and their gallant bearing. Among these reckless bravoes none was so conspicuous or so able as L. Sergius Catilina. Although of good and ancient lineage, his crimes were those of a brutal nature, and both his brother and his son were believed to have fallen victims to his ferocity. Laden with the infamy of such deeds, he yet asked for and obtained the prætorship, and succeeded to the government of Africa. On his return, B.C. 65, he was about to offer himself for the consulship, when a charge of malversation in his government was brought against him by a profligate youth named Publius Clodius. Presently the rumour ran that Catilina was plotting with his dissolute associates to murder the consuls and seize the government by force. It was whispered that Crassus was to be made dictator, with Cæsar for his master of the horse. Piso, who had a command in Spain, was to organise an armed force to balance the legions of the senate under Pompeius. The scheme, it was alleged, was opportunely detected, and the chief conspirators marked. Proceedings were threatened against them, but were stopped by the intervention of a tribune. Nothing occurred, and nothing was formally revealed. The affair remained, and must ever remain, dark and dubious.

Strange as it may seem, Catilina did not shrink from suing for the consulship in the following year, nor did he fail to obtain the support of Cicero and of other honourable men. Over the corrupt patrician youth Catilina exercised the most extraordinary ascendency. He was their friend and their idol, and to him they looked for assistance in every act of wickedness or meanness. They vaunted his strength and vigour, his address in bodily exercises, his iron frame, which could endure alike the toils of war and the excesses of debauch.

The state of society then existing at Rome may perhaps explain how such a man could acquire so much influence. The Roman nobles passed much of their time in camps, amid the excitement of battles and sieges. Their pride was fed by trophies and triumphs, by retinues of captive slaves, by the spoils of palaces. During the intervals of repose, they found little satisfaction in the quiet enjoyments of art and literature. At home they domineered over all; wives, children, clients, slaves, were subject to their will. In public they associated only among themselves, and held aloof in haughty isolation from all beneath them. The boys, indeed, received a rough education at the hands of slaves; but the girls got none at all. The Roman matron was taught even to vaunt her ignorance as a virtue. As a natural consequence she could be no companion to her lord; she could not enter into nor understand his interests and occupations, she did not even share in his amusements, and these accordingly degenerated into debauches. Thus did the morose and haughty Roman stand isolated in the centre of his family and of society around him. Nor did he uplift his thoughts with any feeling of reverence to the gods above. A century before, Polybius had praised the Romans for their earnestness in religion. Doubtless they had respected the gods, as avengers of crime and patrons of virtue. They feared the divine power, but never dreamed of adoring the divine goodness. Their religious acts were little more than charms, to ward off the caprice or ill-nature of the powers above. And now, while religious belief had almost died out among the educated, superstition was more rampant than ever among the ignorant.

In the midst of a society thus hastening to dissolution, Catilina moved about with agitated gait, his eyes bloodshot, his visage ashy pale, maturing his schemes of blood. Involved in ruinous debt, his last hope of extrication had been the

plunder of a province. The spoils of his prætorship had been wrested from him, and access to the consulship denied him. But he trusted to his rank to shield him, and with unblushing effrontery sought the aid of men of the highest family.

The young prodigals called for *new tables*, or the abolition of debts, and after that they would rush gaily into a revolution, and divide the public offices among them. Among these desperate plotters were two nephews of Sulla, and two members of the Cornelian house, Lentulus and Cethegus; even the actual consul, Antonius, was suspected of being privy to their designs. They counted on the support of the men who had been ruined by Sulla, and on the readiness of the rabble to join in tumult and pillage. They expected, too, the armed assistance of the veterans who had already squandered their estates, and of the Italians who still cherished their hostility to Rome. They proposed to enlist the gladiators of Capua, and some would even arm a new insurrection of slaves and criminals, but to this last enormity Catilina would not consent.

Some of the Optimates watched the coming storm with secret satisfaction. They were eager for an opportunity to resume some of the power they had surrendered to Pompeius, and to let their great patron know that, in his absence, they could still save and rule the state without him. They purposed to make Cicero consul, and to use him as their instrument in restoring their own ascendency. He had been prætor in the year 65, but had refused to quit the Forum for the sordid emoluments of a province. He was next designated for the consulship, and, being in favour with the people, was easily elected. He entered on his office in the year 63, and devoted himself to the interests of the oligarchy. As the year advanced, the schemes of Catilina drew all attention, and as soon as his suit for the consulship had been again rejected, he prepared to act at once. The plot was betrayed in all its details to Cicero, who communicated his information to the senate, and a decree was passed that the consuls 'should provide for the safety of the state.' But every move was hazardous. The time had passed when a consul could draw his sword like Ahala or Opimius and rush upon those whom the senate had denounced as its enemies. Such an act would have violated one of the most cherished privileges of the people—that every citizen accused of a capital crime might appeal to the tribes. Yet the

danger was imminent. Arms were being collected. The day was fixed for the rising, and each man had his post assigned to him. The veterans were flocking in. The fleet at Ostia was supposed to be gained, and assistance promised from Spain and Africa. The legions were far away with Pompeius. Rome had neither a garrison nor a police. At the concerted moment the insurgents were to advance from various quarters on the city, and their confederates within to fire it in a hundred places. By good fortune two proconsuls, Marcius Rex and Metellus Creticus, arrived at the instant with troops from the East. Marcius was despatched to face the rebels in Etruria; Metellus sent on a similar mission into Apulia. Some levies were despatched to encounter the men of Picenum. The Capuan gladiators were dispersed in small parties, and Rome was placed in a state of siege. Citizens were enrolled, guards posted at the gates, the streets patrolled; Cicero assumed military command in the city, and marshalled his countrymen against their invisible foe.

The consul's next step was to summon the arch-conspirator to discover himself. On November 7, he convened the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator on the Palatine. Catilina appeared in his place; his fellow-senators shrank from contact with him. Then the consul arose and poured forth his famous oration, the first Catilinarian. Perfectly informed of the criminal's guilt, he taxed him with it in the plainest terms; yet he dared not bring him to justice. Till clearer proofs could be obtained, rigorous measures would have been called tyrannical. Cicero's object was to frighten him away from Rome into the camp of his armed adherents, so that an act of overt rebellion might strip him of every privilege. Pointing to a group of devoted partisans, who crowded the steps of the temple and only awaited a signal to tear the victim in pieces, he vowed that he would crush the movement and chastise the conspirators. Catilina had kept his seat full of rage and fear throughout the impassioned address, trusting to the secret favour of some and to the incredulity of others. At the threat of violence he started to his feet, muttering some protestations of loyalty mingled with sneers at his foreign accuser. But the senators clamoured against him as an enemy and a parricide. Then, losing all self-command, he rushed wildly forth, exclaiming that he would smother the conflagration of his own house in the ruin of the city.

At nightfall he left the city unmolested and joined his friends in Etruria. He left instructions to his accomplices in the city to assassinate the consul if possible, and to be ready for an outbreak as soon as he should appear before the walls. Cicero's harangue had completely succeeded in forcing him into undisguised rebellion. The next thing to be done was to unmask the other conspirators who still kept quiet. The consul's spies watched all their movements, but he dared not strike till, through their imprudence, he had got written proofs in his hands. Certain Gaulish envoys were returning home in ill-humour, after vainly petitioning the senate against the tyranny of their Roman governors. These men were tampered with, and a document signed by Lentulus and Cethegus was betrayed to the consul. Cicero at once summoned the chief conspirators, seized their persons, and, with the letter in his hand, arraigned them before the senate. No defence was possible. They were found guilty of corresponding with the enemies of Rome with the intent of delivering up the city to the fury of the Gauls and Etrurians. Rome could once more breathe freely.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINA CRUSHED. CÆSAR DEPARTS FOR SPAIN. POMPEIUS RETURNS FROM THE EAST.

Now that the conspiracy was throttled in its birth, the ruling party tried hard to incriminate in it their adversaries Crassus and Cæsar. They urged Cicero to produce evidence against Cæsar; but he was too wise to join in such a course, well knowing that Cæsar's popularity was strong enough to shield, not only himself, but any culprit associated with him. The difficulty of dealing with the five convicted conspirators had yet to be overcome. Cicero, doubtful of the issue, hesitated to leave their sentence to the decision of the tribes. Neither could he act legally by the mere direction of his own order. So far, he had scrupulously adhered to the forms of law, even to the arresting of Lentulus with his own hand, because none but

a consul might put a prætor under restraint. Finally, he had caused the criminals to be declared perduelles, or public enemies, in order to strip them of the rights of citizenship before proceeding to their punishment. He now threw himself once more upon the senate. The fathers met in the Temple of Concord; Silanus, consul designate, spoke first, and pronounced for death. All the consulars followed on the same side. Crassus had absented himself, and Cæsar, it might be thought, would gladly clear himself by sacrificing the culprits. But such a manœuvre Cæsar utterly disdained. He gave his vote for perpetual imprisonment, and, encouraged by him, many raised their voices for mercy. Cicero tried to check the current of opinion, but, mighty as he was in the Forum, he had little influence over the senate. It was different, however, when Cato rose, and, in a tone of deep conviction and unflinching courage, demanded the execution of the criminals. The audience swayed round again to the side of severity, and issued the fatal sentence. The knights, who waited impatiently for the result, were furious against Cæsar, and could hardly be restrained from assassinating him. Cicero took care that the sentence should be executed without delay. The condemned men were brought to the Tullianum, the prison under the Capitol, and there strangled. When Cicero, who attended to the last, traversed the Forum on his way home, he exclaimed to the crowds of people through which he made his way, 'They have lived!' and the people shuddered in silence.

Outside the walls of Rome, the officers of the senate had been no less successful in repressing the insurrection. In Etruria alone was the resistance serious and obstinate. Catilina had there assembled 20,000 men, but of these one-quarter only were fully armed. Against him there advanced from Rome the consul Antonius, whose loyalty Cicero had purchased, while his rear was menaced by a second army under Metellus. The news of the executions at Rome threw Catilina into despair. His men deserted him by whole cohorts, and soon no more than 4,000 remained under his standard. Foreseeing the ruin which must fall upon him, he tried to escape westward into the province, but the passes were blocked by Metellus, and he was forced to turn and face Antonius again. The armies met near Pistoria. The half-hearted consul feigned sickness, and left the command of his legions to Petreius. After a short but sharp

struggle the rebels were cut to pieces, and the head of Catilina, who died fighting gallantly in advance of his troops, was cut off and sent to Rome.

The Optimates plumed themselves on the completeness of their work, accomplished without any aid from Pompeius. They might venture next to defy the Great Captain himself. Cicero shared to the full this feeling of self-satisfaction, and believed himself secure at the head of the party whom he had saved. But in so thinking he misjudged his own position. The party felt no devotion to their preserver; nay, they were quite ready, perhaps anxious, to sacrifice him, if ever they were called to account. The service which Cicero had rendered to the state was signal enough to justify his glowing self-appreciation, but, as regards his influence and position in the party to which he clung, he was quite mistaken.

While the generals of the republic were still hunting the common enemy in the Apennines, the leaders of the senate were already quarrelling over the election of consuls for the ensuing year. Cæsar, however, had gained the prætorship, and a creature of Pompeius, Metellus Nepos, had been chosen one of the tribunes, and had attached himself to Cæsar with the design of affronting the dominant faction. The execution of the traitors had been already denounced as a murder. Cicero, on resigning the fasces, presented himself to give an account of his consulship. But Nepos interposed. 'The man,' he said, 'who condemned our fellow-citizens unheard, shall not himself be listened to,' and he required him to confine himself to the customary oath that he had obeyed the laws. 'I swear,' cried Cicero, 'that I have saved the state.' Amid the applause, both of nobles and people, Cato hailed him as 'father of his country.' Upon Nepos further threatening to recall Pompeius, Cato, himself a tribune, defied him with personal violence. Nepos, proclaiming that his sanctity was assailed, fled to his patron's camp. The senate declared his office vacant, and at the same time suspended Cæsar from his functions as prætor. The people, however, rose in tumult, and compelled the consuls to restore their favourite.

U.C. 692, B.C. 62.

Cicero had become sobered from his recent intoxication. He was alarmed at the coldness of Pompeius and the open enmity of Crassus. Threats of impeachment had been muttered, and he was anxious to allay these resentments.

He now sought to appease Crassus. He publicly lauded the zeal of Cæsar in disclosing the designs of Catilina. He who had lately exclaimed 'Let arms give place to the gown!' now prostrated himself before Pompeius, whom he exalted above Scipio as a saviour of the state. The aim of Cicero had been to weld together the senators and the knights by the bond of a common interest, but when he saw that the Optimates spurned the alliance, he thought it most prudent to throw himself wholly upon the aristocracy, which had employed, but did not the less despise him. He failed to secure the real sympathy of Pompeius, of Crassus, or of Cæsar; while the surviving friends of Catilina vowed vengeance against him.

An incident now occurred by which it was hoped to sow discord between Cæsar and the popular party. P. Clodius, the accuser of Catilina, had ingratiated himself with the people. This young profligate penetrated into Cæsar's house in female attire, while the mysteries of the Bona Dea were being celebrated. He was detected and expelled, but the outrage was soon made public, and the nobles did their best to magnify the scandal. Cæsar, as chief pontiff, was forced to take a prominent part; but, on the one hand, the culprit was an instrument of his own policy, on the other, his honour and his office were compromised. He evaded the difficulty by divorcing his wife, giving as a reason that 'the wife of Cæsar should be beyond suspicion.' But he showed little eagerness for the punishment of Clodius, who, perhaps through his intervention, was enabled to borrow money and bribe his judges.

Early in the year B.C. 61 Pompeius arrived at the gates of Rome and demanded a triumph for his conquests in the East. Trusting to his own transcendent merits to obtain for him any honours he might desire, he had dismissed the main body of his troops at Brundisium with the promise of lands to be divided among them. The Optimates interpreted the act as an indication of timidity before their own imposing attitude. As an imperator was forbidden by law to enter the city, Pompeius invited the senate and the people to meet him in the Campus and hear from his own mouth the policy he meant to adopt. Of his own actions he spoke magniloquently, on civil affairs with moderation, of the senate respectfully, but not one word of approval would he vouchsafe to their recent measures. Cicero took occasion to descant upon the great dangers from

which he had saved the state; but neither praise nor sympathy could be extorted from the great Pompeius.

The time was now come when Cæsar might advance his power by accepting a military command of importance. The province of Farther Spain was offered to him; but he was so deep in debt that, as he avowed, he wanted 250 millions of sesterces (about 2,000,000*l.* sterling) to be 'worth nothing.' He was also hindered by a decree which forbade any magistrate to go abroad till the Clodian process should be decided. The first difficulty was got over by the help of the wealthy Crassus, who was willing to elevate Cæsar, so that he might lower Pompeius, and who took the treasures of Spain in pawn in return for 200,000*l.* which he advanced for Cæsar's pressing needs. The other impediment Cæsar boldly disregarded, judging that when once he had got possession of his government, and taken command of his forces, his enemies could not insist on his recall.

The senate was obliged to put up with the affront, but soothed its pride by mortifying Pompeius, withholding the ratification of his acts, and the satisfaction of his veterans. Lucullus and Metellus had enjoyed their triumphs without question, but the conqueror of Mithridates was harassed with ungracious delays, and his triumph was not celebrated till nine months after his return. When the time for it at length arrived, the display of spoils and trophies was such as Rome had never before witnessed. The proconsul boasted that he had conquered twenty-one kings. His banners announced that he had taken 800 vessels, 1,000 fortresses, 900 towns; 39 cities he had founded or restored; he had poured 20,000 talents (5,000,000*l.*) into the treasury, and almost doubled the national revenues. This third triumph completed his world-wide glories; the first had marked his victories in Africa, the second those in Europe, and now he had brought, as it were, the whole world within the sphere of his conquests. Nevertheless, on descending from his chariot, Pompeius found himself alone in the city where he had been once attended by crowds of flatterers and admirers. The senate was cold or hostile, Cicero relaxed in his adulation, and the ratification of the hero's acts was still petulantly withheld. On his renewing the demand for lands for his veterans, he was once more met with a refusal. Deeply chagrined at the treat-

U.C. 694, B.C. 60.

ment he experienced, he might now regret the disbanding of his legions, and the more so as the approaches he began to make to the popular party met with little response. Cæsar was already lodged in their hearts, and they cared for no other favourite.

CHAPTER XL.

CÆSAR'S CONSULSHIP. THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE. CICERO'S BANISHMENT AND RECALL.

THE destruction of Catilina, the humiliation of Pompeius, and the absence of Cæsar combined to inflate the Optimates with confidence in themselves and in their headstrong leader Cato. Cicero was mortified to see so unpractical a statesman preferred to a philosopher like himself. His remarks on Cato, though pointed no doubt by wounded vanity, are substantially just. 'No man,' he said, 'means better, but he ruins our affairs; he speaks as a citizen of Plato's republic, not as one dwelling among the dregs of Romulus.' 'We have only one statesman,' he added, meaning Pompeius; for he was now drawing nearer to this chief; who had at length publicly done justice to the acts of his famous consulship.

The Optimates no doubt were living in a fool's paradise amid their palaces and their fish-ponds, but in the absence of Cæsar their opponents were irresolute and disunited. Cæsar, on assuming his command in Spain, made war promptly on the natives, ingratiating himself with his officers and soldiers, and filling his own pockets as well as theirs with plunder. One campaign sufficed to free him from debt, and to reveal to him his own military capacity. Thereupon, in the course of the year 60, as the elections drew near, he threw up his command, and appeared suddenly before the city. He claimed a triumph, but his position as an imperator was not consistent with that of a candidate for the consulship. The nobles refused to relax the law in his favour, and to their surprise Cæsar at once relinquished the triumph and sued for the consulship. At the same time he effected a close alliance with Pompeius and Crassus. The glory of the first, the wealth of the second, and

the popularity of the third combined to give to this triumvirate a paramount power over public affairs. Each of them was in reality hoping to use the other two as instruments for his own advancement to the first place in the commonwealth: but Cæsar was the first to profit by the combination, for his allies pledged themselves to raise him to the consulship.

Cæsar was backed by a rich candidate, Lucceius, who bore a large share of his expenses: the nobles opposed to him the wealthy Bibulus. Even Cato consented to use bribery against bribery. Cæsar's election was carried with Bibulus for his colleague. Cæsar now courted the people more than ever. He distinguished his term of office by an agrarian law which assigned lands to the Pompeian veterans and to a large number of poor citizens. This bill was furiously opposed by Cato, who with Bibulus and Lucullus tried to dissolve the assembly on a plea of unpropitious omens. They were all three very roughly handled by the people. Cæsar sat unmoved in his chair, and the law was carried amid the clash of arms in the Forum.

Cæsar's consulship was an epoch of grave importance from the free expression it gave to the views of the popular party.

While the nobles, dismayed at their discomfiture, shrank from all public action, and Bibulus shut himself up in his house for the remainder of his term, Cæsar was proposing laws in the comitia for regulating the tribunals, for controlling the pro-consuls, for improving the position of the provincials. From the first he had declared himself the patron of the oppressed provinces, and now that he was in power, he fulfilled his promises. The people supported his liberal measures as a fresh defiance of the aristocratic party, not from any liberal sympathies of their own. Cicero, who could not understand the consul's broad and generous policy, passed his time in literary leisure at Tusculum and Formiæ, but cast back wistful glances at the arena of public life. The movements of Clodius, who was taking steps towards the tribunate, caused him much uneasiness; for he judged rightly that they portended an attack upon himself. Further disquietude was caused by the arrest of a villain named Vettius, who avowed that he had been suborned by Cato and others to assassinate Cæsar and Pompeius.

All parties may have felt it a relief when Cæsar's consulship drew to a close. Every obstacle, every rival had yielded to his

ascendency. He himself saw clearly that the days of the free state were numbered, and the example of Pompeius, expecting in fretful inaction the offer of supreme power, warned him that the sovereignty of the empire must be seized, not waited for. He resolved to quit the city, gather resources in the field of foreign adventure, and return as a conqueror to claim the diadem. Frank and generous as he was, we may well believe that he foresaw what benefits he might confer on Rome and the empire under the personal rule of a large-minded administrator. The people, whom he had delighted with shows and largesses, overruled the decree of the senate, and granted him the provinces of the Cisalpine and Illyricum for five years, with an army of three legions. Symptoms of disturbance had been noticed among the tribes beyond the Alps. The Allobroges had risen, and been put down. The Helvetii were preparing for a migration which threatened to encroach on the province. Strong measures of repression were called for. In spite of Cato's warnings, the senate not only acquiesced in the assignment by the people, but added to it the Transalpine province also. The proconsulate of Cæsar in the West might now rival in importance the extraordinary Eastern command lately given to Pompeius.

After vacating the consulship at the end of the year 59, Cæsar lingered for a time outside the walls to watch the course of events, and especially the manœuvres of young Clodius, who by his aid had now gained the tribuneship. This shameless demagogue found himself in a position of great power, courted by Pompeius, and able by promises of popular favour to control the action of the consuls, who were greedy and necessitous. He confirmed his influence by popular measures, requiring that the supply of cheap corn should be henceforth gratuitous, and forbidding the consuls to dissolve the comitia under pretence of observing the heavens. He further deprived the censors of their power of degrading knights and senators at their sole discretion. He next set himself to work the downfall of his personal enemy Cicero. He moved the people to interdict fire and water to whosoever should have inflicted death on a citizen without an appeal to the tribes. Cicero, though not named, was clearly pointed at. Declining Cæsar's offer of a post in his province, he descended into the Forum in the garb of a suppliant and pleaded with the citizens

U.C. 696, B.C. 58.

for help and for compassion. The senators were disposed to stand by him, but the consuls supported Clodius, and the tribune raised a tumult in the streets and pelted Cicero and his sad *cortége* with mud and stones. Pompeius, when appealed to, coldly repulsed him. Clodius convened the tribes outside the walls to allow the attendance of Cæsar, who, after condemning the execution of the conspirators, faintly exhorted the people to forego revenge and condone the offence.

Cicero had already retired from the city, but the implacable Clodius caused him to be sentenced by name. Cicero was banished four hundred miles from Rome, or beyond Italy. It was declared capital even to propose his recall. His estates were confiscated, his cherished villa at Tusculum given over to be pillaged by the consuls, and his mansion on the Palatine pulled down, part of the site being cynically dedicated to the goddess Liberty, so as to render its restitution impossible.

The triumvirs were not ill-pleased with the sentence which struck the senate through Cicero. The nobles were mortified by the affront to their policy, but felt that they were not fully discredited as long as Cato remained at their head. At the instigation of his patrons, Clodius now directed his manœuvres against the most just and virtuous of the Romans by imposing upon him the odious task of dispossessing Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, upon grounds wholly frivolous and iniquitous. He was required to bring the luckless monarch's treasures to Rome, and to annex his island to the empire. Cato acted in blind obedience to the decree of the people; but if Clodius hoped to corrupt him by the handling of so much wealth he was disappointed, and when Cato returned two years later, the demagogue had fallen too low to harm him by his false insinuations The successes of Clodius soon turned his head, and he ventured to affront both Cæsar and Pompeius. The latter was even intimidated into the belief that a plot was formed against his life, and shut himself up in his house. But Cæsar came to his rescue, and the next elections freed him from persecution, while they raised some decided friends of Cicero to the consulship.

The new consuls at once demanded the orator's recall. They declared that Clodius was by his birth incapable of being tribune, and that all his acts were invalid; moreover, that the decree which had condemned Cicero was a privilegium, as directed against an individual, and so

U.C. 697, B.C. 57.

contrary to the fundamental laws of Rome. The demagogue, divested of his office, had no resource but violence. The nobles armed a party of swordsmen under Milo to encounter him. For seven months the two factions shed each other's blood in the sight of the affrighted citizens. At last in August Milo was triumphant. The tribes could meet in safety, and the recall of Cicero was voted by acclamation.

The patriot's return was likened to a triumphal procession. All Italy from Brundisium to Rome came out, as he tells us, to meet him. But his seventeen months of exile had revealed the weakness of his character by the unmanly dejection to which he had yielded. He had shown in the hour of his trial that Rome was only the second object of his thoughts, himself the first. He could not disguise from himself that he had been made the sport of men far inferior to himself in ability and honesty; and he sighed to think that the signal exploit of his career was after all no better than a splendid failure.

CHAPTER XLI.

CÆSAR CONQUERS GAUL AND INVADES BRITAIN.

CÆSAR entered his province in the spring of the year 58, and during the following years was intently occupied in subduing the tribes of Gaul from the Rhone to the Seine, the Rhine, and the Atlantic. He barred the passage of the Helvetii into the Roman province by means of a chain of earthworks near the site of the modern Geneva. As they poured westward by a more northern route he followed and routed them on the banks of the Saone, finally crushing them in a second victory among the upper waters of the Seine. He next drove back the Suevi who had crossed the Rhine under their chief Ariovistus, and having thus relieved the Gauls from both their assailants, set himself to form alliances with some tribes and to sow discord among others, with a view to the eventual subjugation of them all. The Ædui and Arverni, each with selfish aims of their own, were disposed to assist in the ruin of their common country.

In the following year Cæsar broke the confederacy of the Belgic tribes in the north-east, and in his next campaign worsted
U.C. 697, B.C. 57. the Veneti at sea, and reduced the most part of the north-western districts. At the same time his lieutenants overran the south-western region known as Aquitania. Gaul was now to a great extent subdued; but in
U.C. 699, B.C. 55. order to find fresh foes and fresh plunder for his legions, Cæsar, in B.C. 55, bridged the Rhine and invaded the German forests. In the autumn of the same year he crossed for a reconnaissance of a fortnight's duration into Britain, but having suffered some losses at sea, he withdrew into Gaul for the winter. In the following summer he landed a second time in Kent, and fording the Thames above London, defeated the Trinobantes before their stockade in Hertfordshire.
U.C. 700, B.C. 54. But he found no inducement to remain in the island, and after exacting the promise of a small tribute, he turned his thoughts once more to Rome, satisfied with having occupied his troops and amused his countrymen by the record of his adventures.

During this period of active warfare, Cæsar had kept a watch on the march of events in the city. Year by year, as the season for campaigning closed, he repaired to the baths of Lucca, the most convenient point within his territory at which to receive his numerous partisans, and consult with them on measures of home policy. During his long absence Pompeius and Crassus were scheming independently for supreme power. A scarcity of corn had occurred, and, with Cicero's aid, Pompeius induced the senate to give him an extraordinary commission, and place him for the third time above the laws. He was authorised to appoint officers to collect supplies of grain from all parts of the empire, and to fix the prices himself, for the space of five years. Cicero accepted a place on the commission. The whole scheme was a mere device for restoring to Pompeius the paramount authority which four years before he had unwarily resigned.

Nevertheless, whether from indolence or mismanagement, Pompeius does not seem to have strengthened his position by his new powers. He found himself more than ever exposed to the intrigues of the nobles and the violence of the mob, and he was defeated in an attempt to get a further appointment which was coveted as a valuable prize.

Ptolemæus, king of Egypt, had been dethroned by his

subjects, and the senate proposed to restore him by force. This duty they wished to entrust to Lentulus, one of their own party; but the intrigues of Pompeius baffled them. He, in his turn, was refused when he sought the appointment for himself. The turbulence of the mob and of the demagogues became worse than ever. The statue of Jupiter on the Alban mount was struck by lightning, and general consternation was caused by this portent of impending revolution. Pompeius and Crassus were filled with mutual distrust, and the senate muttered threats of impeachment, exile, or even death against Cæsar.

Cæsar meanwhile held a kind of court at Lucca. Consulars, officials, nearly half the senate crowded to his receptions. A hundred and twenty lictors, it was said, might sometimes be counted at his door. Both senators and knights returned to Rome delighted with his courtesy and generosity. Many began to foresee the approaching end of the republic. Indeed the machinery of the free state was at a deadlock. The consuls and the tribunes, the senate and the people, mutually checked each other and paralysed the action of the state. The elections for the ensuing year were not held, the consuls pretending that the auspices were adverse, but at the same time abstaining from all public duties, as men deprived of their legitimate power by the fury of the mob. When the curule chairs fell vacant, the tribunes disregarded the legal forms of an interregnum, and convened the tribes irregularly. Young Crassus appeared on the scene with a detachment of Cæsar's veterans from Gaul, and with their aid Pompeius and Crassus secured the consulship for themselves, and the other offices for their friends. M. Cato, who sued for the prætorship, was mortified by being set aside in favour of the infamous Vatinius. U.C. 699, B.C. 55.

Cæsar had patched up a truce between Pompeius and Crassus at Lucca, and had used his influence with the people to secure for them the provinces of Spain and Syria. In return they helped him to obtain a renewal of his own commission for a second period of five years. The pretext put forward was that Gaul yet required to be organised by the same strong hand which had subdued it. But Cæsar meant to use the interval in confirming his influence over his legions, trusting to time to dim the lustre of his rivals and prepare the empire for himself. Cæsar did not gain his object without

resistance on the part of the nobles; but they were no longer championed by men of dignity and position, like Lucullus or Cicero. Cato, who had much degenerated through daily contact with violence and vulgarity, and Favonius, a mere party brawler, were their leaders. Cato had to be lifted on men's shoulders in order to force his way into the place of meeting. His long and angry invective was answered by the brandishing of clubs and the throwing of brickbats. The Optimates were driven from the comitia, not without bloodshed. It was after one of these scenes that Pompeius returned home with some drops of blood sprinkled on his robe. His young wife Julia, Cæsar's daughter, met him, and, horrified at the sight, was seized with premature labour and died soon afterwards.

Cæsar had used the first five years of his proconsulship to good purpose in reducing Gaul throughout its length and breadth, and in daunting the fierce tribes of Germans and Britons near its frontiers. He might now hope to use the resources of his province for his own aggrandisement. Though chief of the popular party at home, he always supported the nobles against the democracy abroad. He maintained the form of popular assemblies as a convenient means of levying tribute, and what he took from one tribe he used in buying the friendship of others; while he charmed all with the sweets of Roman civilisation and the prospect of Roman citizenship. Hitherto the Gauls had offered no general resistance to their conqueror. A few tribes here and there had fought and yielded. Their first serious revolt arose in the Belgic Gaul, and had for its centre the country of the Treviri. It was supported by the Nervii, the Eburones, and the Lingones. These tribes were balanced by the Remi, the Senones, and the Ædui, which remained stedfast to Rome, and prevented the disturbance from spreading southwards. The campaign of the year 54 was signalised by a great disaster to the Roman arms; but Cæsar promptly retrieved it, and relieved the camp of his lieutenant, Cicero's brother, by a brilliant victory over the Nervii. In the following year he quelled the insurrection in the North, and induced his Gaulish allies to wreak a bloody vengeance on the nation of the Eburones.

U.C.701, B.C. 53.

Scarcely was his back turned upon this scene of massacre when a fresh revolt broke out in the centre of the country, and the district which lies between the Seine and the Garonne was

in a flame. At Genabus, on the Loire, a number of Roman settlers were massacred. The Druids incited the people to the war, but the command was taken by Vercingetorix, a chief of the Arverni, who, alone among the Gauls, stands forth as a military genius, and whose heroic defence of his country deserves the highest praise. At his hands Cæsar suffered a severe defeat at Gergovia, near the Allier. The proconsul lost his sword, and his retreat into Italy was cut off. But in truth Italy at that time offered him no asylum. In Gaul he must either conquer or die. His lieutenant, Labienus, succeeded in pacifying the more northern tribes, and with the whole force at his command Cæsar once more showed a bold front to his enemy. This time Vercingetorix was defeated, and led his routed army into the city of Alesia, near the modern Dijon, where he entrenched himself with 80,000 men. Cæsar enclosed his beaten enemy, together with a large concourse of non-combatant fugitives, in a second circumvallation, and in due time compelled the surrender of the whole force by famine. The captives' lives were spared, but Vercingetorix, who merited a better fate, was reserved to grace his captor's triumph and to perish miserably in the dungeons of the Capitol. In the eighth year of Cæsar's proconsulship the subjugation of the vast region between the Alps, the Rhine, the Pyrenees, and the ocean was complete. U.C. 703, B.C. 51.

The conquest of Gaul was not achieved without an enormous loss of life, but in constituting the government of his province Cæsar pursued a new and liberal policy. He founded no military colonies to control the natives and to possess their lands. His object was not to bring Rome into his province, but to turn the eyes of the provincials towards Rome, to give them an interest in the imperial city, and to use their support in furthering his own designs. He left them then their land, their laws, and their religion: in a great measure their own self-government was undisturbed, though doubtless directed by Roman agents. Honours and privileges were showered upon their chiefs and cities. But the courteous manners of the magnanimous Roman won more hearts even than his benefactions.

At the same time that Cæsar was thus riveting the yoke of Roman dominion upon the vast territories of Northern, Eastern, and Western Gaul, he had another task to accomplish in the

old southern province, the Narbonensis. The government of that region had been confided by Pompeius to adherents of his own, who belonged to the party of the senate. These men Cæsar displaced in all directions, filling the offices of government with friends and partisans on whom he could depend, rewarding with lands and largesses all who did him good service. At the same time he kept his legions fully recruited and in a high state of discipline and efficiency. His gallant and generous bearing and his splendid military genius had captivated the youth of Gaul, who flocked eagerly to his standards. Indeed, Cæsar's conquest of Gaul was mainly effected by the swords of Gaulish soldiers. When he entered upon his proconsulship, the only troops he took over from his predecessors were the legions numbered the 7th, 8th, and 9th, which had probably been raised by Metellus in the Cisalpine. The legions numbered 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th, were all originally levied within the limits of Transalpine Gaul. But few of these soldiers could have been of Roman or Italian origin. They were most likely recruited among those tribes on whom the Latian franchise had been conferred; but to each of them were attached a number of foreign cohorts, subject to the same discipline, equipped with the same arms; and these auxiliaries, after a few campaigns, became as trusty and as efficient as their regular comrades. One legion was undoubtedly composed solely of Gauls, who were distinguished by wearing a lark or a tuft of lark's feathers in their helmets, and the legion thus acquired its name 'Alauda.' To a vain and excitable, a proud and pugnacious race, like the Gauls, service under such a general as Cæsar was eminently attractive; and in spite of the severity of his discipline and the toilsome labours he required of them, their devotion to his person was absolute. Unlike Pompeius, Lucullus, and all the other generals of his time, Cæsar alone might boast that his troops had never mutinied, and that when captured by the enemy they invariably refused to serve against him. Such were the legions with which Cæsar conquered Gaul; with them he was now about to conquer the empire of Rome.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE ROMAN LEGIONS AND THEIR SYSTEM OF ENCAMPMENT.

WE have now reached a turning point in the history of Rome at which the civic institutions begin to be overshadowed by the military organisation. Hitherto the annual magistrates, legally elected, have ruled the state; the laws have been framed by the people in their comitia, by the Optimates in the senate. These have been the prevailing forces in the commonwealth. But they are fast hastening to their fall, and their place is to be taken by a successful soldier, an imperator, whose power is only limited by his life. The will of the armed legions will henceforth prevail over that of the citizens. We shall do well, therefore, to form a clear conception of the Roman army, of its actual condition in Cæsar's time, and the steps by which it had been developed. From the beginning to the end of Roman history *the legion* ('legio,' derived from 'legere,' to choose) is the name used to express an organised body of troops. It corresponds, perhaps, more nearly to a *corps d'armée* than to any other term in modern military phraseology; for the legion included both heavy infantry, light infantry, cavalry, and such rude forms of engineering appliances and artillery as were known to the ancients. In the legendary accounts of Romulus the legion is stated to have contained 3,000 foot soldiers and 300 cavalry, each of the three tribes contributing 1,000 of the one and 100 of the other. Passing on, as we must do, for want of any trustworthy sources of information, to the legion as it was organised under the Servian constitution, we find a more complete and elaborate system. The nation is now divided into thirty tribes, and also arranged according to the distribution of property under five classes. For every legion that was required for the service of the state, the first class supplied forty centuries of thirty men each, who were armed at their own expense with helmet, breastplate, shield, and greaves, besides sword and spear; total 1,200 men. The second and third classes together supplied a like number of men, also armed at their own expense, but less fully equipped with defensive armour; total 1,200. The fourth and fifth classes supplied a third body of 1,200 men,

who were unprovided with defensive armour, but carried heavy javelins (pila), with which to harass the approaching enemy.

The 2,400 men drawn from the first three classes were arranged in order of battle ten deep, the first five ranks being occupied by the heavily-armed men of the first class, and the five ranks behind being filled by the half-armed men of the second and third classes, who gained some protection from the defensive armour of their richer comrades in front. The unarmed troops of the two lowest classes were formed in a loose body apart called a 'caterva.' The cavalry, 300 in number, was supplied by the eighteen centuries of knights, which comprised all the patricians and the richest of the plebeians.

Such was probably the constitution of the Roman legion in the early years of the republic. It is important to observe that these soldiers received no pay and were armed at their own expense: they were simply citizens withdrawn for a few weeks or months from the pursuits of civil life, and destined to return thereto as soon as the campaign was ended. For many centuries, even after the payment of the legionaries had been introduced, this continued to be the fundamental idea of the Roman militia; and so late as the period of Lucullus, B.C. 66, we find the legions murmuring and disposed to mutiny because they were not at once led homewards when the war with Mithridates, for which they had been enlisted, was at an end.

The great effort made by the Romans under Camillus in the long siege of Veii, B.C. 400, made it necessary to retain the legions under arms winter and summer for several years, and as the soldiers were thus prevented from supporting themselves or their families by productive industry, the system of state payment for their services could no longer be avoided. As the Roman dominion expanded, as long and distant wars against such enemies as the Samnites, the Gauls, the Carthaginians, came to be of frequent occurrence, the necessity for paying the soldiers continued to be imperative, and the old practice of unpaid service passed out of popular remembrance.

Another change occurred about the same time, and has likewise been attributed with some probability to Camillus, though we have no certain knowledge as to who was the author of it. Instead of the solid mass and serried ranks of the Greek phalanx which had formed the battle array of early times, we find, about the period of the Latin war, B.C. 340, that

the legion was subdivided into small companies or maniples, and disposed in a looser order of battle. The front rank consisted of fifteen maniples of young and vigorous men, whose principal weapon was a long spear (hasta), and thence called 'hastati.' Each maniple contained sixty men, and spaces were left between the maniples to allow the troops behind to advance between the lines if necessary. The second rank was formed of the 'principes,' heavily armed troops of superior age and strength, many of them protected by shirts of mail, in addition to helmet, greaves, and shield, and carrying both heavy javelins and swords. Their number and order of battle was the same as that of the hastati.

Behind the principes stood the 'triarii,' or veterans, on whom the brunt of the battle did not fall till both the ranks of younger men had been worsted; these again were supported by two more ranks of less trusty warriors called respectively the rorarii and accensi, and these three rear ranks numbered 900 men each, or 2,700 in all.

The rorarii were armed with light javelins, and they began the battle by advancing between the companies of the foremost ranks and skirmishing in front of the array before the armies came to close quarters, retiring through the lines when the shock became imminent. The accensi stepped into the posts of those who had fallen, and supplied their place to the best of their power, doubtless using the weapons of their dead or wounded comrades. From this enumeration we obtain, as the full strength of the legion at this period, 75 maniples of 60 men each, or 4,500 men, in addition to which we must reckon two centurions and a standard bearer to each maniple, which brings up the total to 4,725, in round numbers 5,000 infantry, besides the invariable force of 300 cavalry.

The Greek historian Polybius, who passed many years of his life at Rome about the period of the third Punic war (B.C. 149), and who had opportunities of obtaining trustworthy information concerning all that related to the war with Hannibal (B.C. 218), has left us a clear account of the state of the Roman legion during the great contest with Carthage.

At that time, say B.C. 200, it seems that the ordinary strength of the legion was somewhat in excess of 4,000 men, but that in great emergencies the number was increased to 5,000.

The three first ranks of the array were still designated by the names hastati, principes, triarii, and there is no change to record in the quality and armament of these troops. Their numbers, however, and their subdivisions, are different. The two front ranks now contain 1,200 men apiece, marshalled in ten maniples of 120 each, while the triarii, or veterans, number only 600, in ten maniples of 60 each, making a total force of 3,000. The names rorarii and accensi have disappeared, and in their place we find 1,000 of the poorest and youngest recruits allotted to each legion as light troops or skirmishers, with the appellation 'velites.'

The increased strength of the maniples has caused them to be subdivided into two centuries, each of which is commanded by a centurion and his lieutenant, 'optio,' so called because he was selected by the free choice of his centurion.

The legion is further arranged in ten cohorts, each of which contained 400 soldiers, and was thus composed :—

One maniple of hastati	120
„ principes	120
„ triarii	60
Proportion of velites	100
Total . . .	400

The legion thus contained 4,000 infantry disposed in ranks, in cohorts, in maniples, and centuries: but to this force must be added the officers and standard bearers, viz., 6 tribunes, who commanded the legion in monthly rotation, 60 centurions, and as many standard bearers; total 4,136. The force of 300 cavalry, divided into ten 'turmæ,' must, of course, also be reckoned; but in addition to this the dominant position of Rome in Italy has now brought into the field a large contingent of auxiliary forces supplied by the subject allies, 'socii.' The allied infantry attached to each legion equals in number the Roman infantry, while the cavalry force is twice or thrice as numerous as the Roman cavalry. In this way the entire force of the legion may now be reckoned at from nine to ten thousand men. A consular army consisted of two legions, and when both consuls took the field at the head of their armies, the force amounted to nearly 40,000.

Throughout the best period of the republic, service in the ranks of the Roman legion was accounted a privilege, and was

not only reserved to Roman citizens, but to those of them whose fortune was not less than 4,000 copper pounds. Exceptions to this rule did undoubtedly occur. Thus after the disaster at Cannæ 8,000 slaves were purchased by the state and equipped as soldiers. They fought bravely, and were rewarded with freedom. Still, the rule stated above was almost universally maintained down to the beginning of the first century before Christ. The great democrat Marius first introduced the practice of recruiting the legions from all classes of Roman citizens without distinction of fortune. The basis of the army was further extended by the admission of the Italians to the right of citizenship after the Social War, B.C. 88. Throughout the vast dominion of Rome multitudes of provincials were admitted by purchase or favour to civic rights, and it soon became the practice to raise the legions principally in the provinces, while under the Empire the prætorian troops alone were recruited among the youth of Italy. The changed condition of the legion arising from these causes shall now be described, and it should be observed that the legions which fought under Cæsar are those now spoken of.

The numbers of the Roman legion proper, without auxiliaries, now range from 5,000 up to 6,200 men, but may be taken as about 6,000 in general.

All the legionaries are armed and equipped alike: the old distinctions of hastati, principes, &c., have disappeared. Instead of the old arrangement in three or five lines, with open spaces between the maniples and the young soldiers in front, we now find the legion arrayed in two lines, each of which is divided into five cohorts, and the veterans occupy the front rank.

The velites are no longer heard of, but for skirmishers there are attached to each legion troops of foreign mercenaries highly trained in the use of their own peculiar weapons. Such were the bowmen of Crete, the slingers of the Balearic Isles, and the javelin men of Mauretania. The principal division of the legion is now the cohort: the maniple is still maintained, but the century comes into greater prominence.

Before the date of the battle of Pharsalia, B.C. 48, an important modification had been introduced in the constitution of the cohorts. Hitherto the ten cohorts had been all equal in numerical strength: we now find the first cohort, to which the

custody of the eagle is committed, raised to a double standard and enjoying a special dignity, with the title of 'cohors milliaria.' Thus if the number of legionaries be taken at 5,940, we shall have the first cohort numbering 1,080 men, while the other nine muster but 540 each.

The eagle was carried by the first centurion of the first cohort. It consisted of a small image of the bird with expanded wings, made of silver or bronze, and carried at the top of a staff. Each cohort had also its separate standard, consisting of a dragon woven into a cloth banner, which hung from a cross-bar near the top of the staff. Under the empire this figure of a dragon was replaced by a representation of the reigning emperor's head, which became an object of worship to the soldiers, and after Constantine this was again replaced by a representation of the Saviour's head, which constituted the sacred labarum.

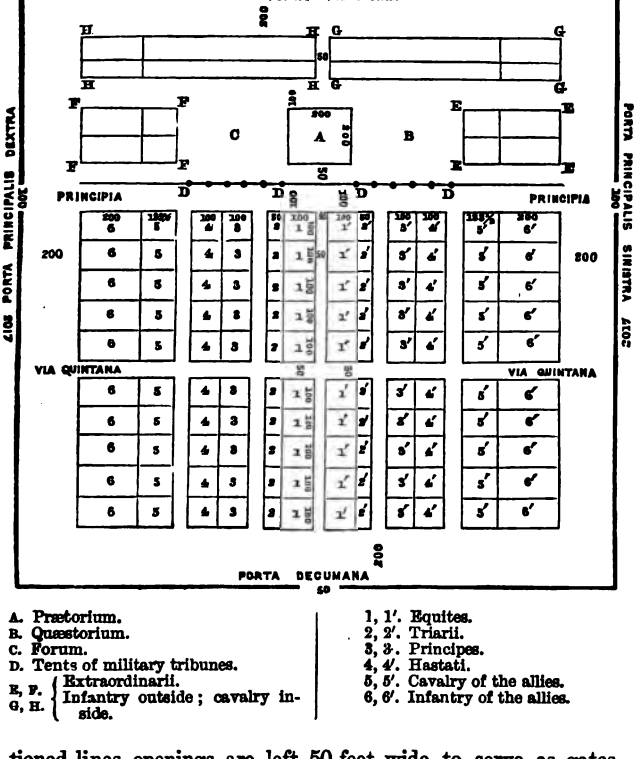
In Cæsar's time the cavalry was almost entirely recruited among the provincial population: the few Roman equites who might be present with the legion acting as aides-de-camp to the general or in some other post of special honour.

The equipment of the foot soldier was extremely burdensome. In addition to helmet, cuirass, and shield, he carried a pilum, a sword, and a dagger, provisions for three days, various implements used in entrenching the camp, and stakes for palisading it. The location, construction, and fortification of the camp were objects to which the utmost attention and scientific skill were devoted by the Roman commanders. No army passed a single night without entrenching itself; the position must be easily defensible, wood and water must be accessible: skill in selecting a camping ground was regarded as a most important qualification in a general.

Let us endeavour to form a clear conception of the construction of a camp, such as would be made night after night, throughout a long march, by a consular army of two legions, with auxiliaries, in the best period of the republic, say B.C. 200. The number of troops to be accommodated would be about 20,000, viz., 5,000 legionaries and the same number of auxiliaries for each legion.

The camp then is carefully laid out in a square of 2,017 Roman feet, whose four sides may be supposed to face the four cardinal points of the compass. Immediately upon reaching

the ground parties of soldiers are told off under their centurions to dig the ditch and raise the mound on the inner side of it, two sides of the square, say the east and west sides, being undertaken by the legionaries, and the other two, north and south, by the auxiliaries. In the centre of these two last-men-



A. Prætorium.
B. Quæstorium.
C. Forum.
D. Tents of military tribunes.
E, F. Extraordinarii.
G, H. Infantry outside; cavalry inside.
1, 1′. Equites.
2, 2′. Triarii.
3, 3′. Principes.
4, 4′. Hastati.
5, 5′. Cavalry of the allies.
6, 6′. Infantry of the allies.

tioned lines openings are left 50 feet wide to serve as gates, fortified, however, with barriers, and known as the Porta Prætoria and Porta Decumana respectively.

The ramparts on the east and west sides are also pierced

with gateways 100 feet wide; these, however, are not centrally situated, their distance from the southern end being twice as great as it is from the northern end of the enclosure. They are designated as the Porta Principalis Dextra, and Sinistra respectively. The mound, when completed, is fenced with stout stakes planted on its summit, and sentries drawn from the ranks of the velites are posted at frequent intervals all along the rampart. Strong pickets both of horse and foot are, at the same time, thrown forward to a considerable distance outside each of the four gates.

Returning to the interior of the camp, which has been pitched according to one unvarying plan while the ditch and mound were in process of construction, we find the following arrangements. From east to west, uniting the two Portæ Principales, runs a broad street 100 feet in width, called the Principia. Along its north side are pitched the tents of the twelve military tribunes, six for each legion, with their baggage and horses in rear of them. From the centre of the north side opens a space 200 feet square, in the middle of which stands the Prætorium, the tent of the commander of the army, generally the consul. On one side of the Prætorium is a large open space used as a Forum or place of assembly, for the delivery of speeches and celebration of sacrifices. On the other side is the Quæstorium, the establishment of the quæstor, who acts as quartermaster and paymaster of the army, taking charge at the same time of all the booty which may have been captured. East and west of the Forum and the Quæstorium, and also along the whole northern face of the camp, are pitched the tents of the *extraordinarii*, both equites and pedites. These were picked troops furnished by the allies for the special duty of guarding the Prætorium and the Quæstorium. The infantry are quartered outside of the cavalry, and a clear space 200 feet wide is left between the outermost tents and the rampart.

We now pass to the south side of the Principia. There is but one street running parallel to that main passage: it is called the Via Quintana, and it is situated nearly half way between the Principia and the south end of the camp: it is but 50 feet wide. At right angles to these two streets, opening out of the Principia and crossing the Quintana, are five narrow streets each 50 feet wide. The centre one of the five opens exactly opposite the Prætorium, and divides the quarters of the

two legions from one another. Facing inwards upon this street are the tents and stables of the equites, 300 horses on either side. Back to back with them, and facing upon the first of the side streets in either half of the camp, stand the tents of the veteran triarii, 600 for each legion. Facing them across the street are the principes, back to back with whom come the hastati. The two outermost streets then occur, and beyond them stand the quarters of the allies—the cavalry inside, the infantry facing outwards to the ramparts. A clear space of 200 feet surrounds all the tents, and then we reach the vallum with its stockade. An elaborate system of posts and sentinels is organised to guard the gates, the Prætorium, the Quæstorium, and indeed every individual portion of the camp. A watch-word is issued by the consul, and the rounds are made during the night by men selected from the equites by lot.

Many more details might be given, which must, however, be sought elsewhere. It will suffice here to add a short notice of the changes introduced into the camp system under the Empire. We will still maintain the supposition that the sides of the camp face the four cardinal points of the compass; but, of course, it will be understood that this supposition is made only for convenience of explanation, and that in reality the camp might face in any direction that best suited the peculiarities of the ground.

The first thing to be noticed is that, owing to the inferior discipline and more mercenary character of the imperial forces, as compared with the republican, the amount of labour expended on the construction and fortification of the camp is far less than it was in the earlier times; and, as a consequence, the troops are crowded together into a much smaller space, and the defences are of a slighter character. We have to deal with an army of three legions, together with Prætorian cohorts or body guards, numerous officers of the imperial court, and large supplements of barbarian cavalry and light infantry, in all not less than 40,000 men, who are now encamped in an enclosure less than that formerly allotted to a consular army of 20,000 men. The form of the camp is no longer a square but an oblong, with the angles rounded off, the long sides measuring one-third more than the short ones, which may be supposed to face north and south. The position of the Principia and the Via Quintana are scarcely altered, except that the portion of

the camp north of the Principia is somewhat more elongated in proportion. The Prætorium now occupies the very centre of the camp between those two cross streets, and the legionaries, as being most trustworthy, are quartered nearest to the rampart all round, and separated from it by a much narrower open interval than of old. Their lines are bounded on the inner side by a street called the Via Sagularis, which makes the entire circuit of the camp. Within that street the foreign auxiliaries have their quarters, but the immediate neighbourhood of the Prætorium is, of course, guarded by the encampment of the Prætorian cohorts. The most northerly section of the camp is now bisected by a street which runs due north from the Principia to the Porta Prætoria, and the number of minor streets, by which the camp is intersected, is considerably increased.

A few remarks must here be added concerning the sources from which the legions were recruited, and the period of their service. During the second and third centuries, before the Christian era, all citizens whose fortune exceeded 4,000 copper pounds, and whose ages lay between seventeen and forty-six, were liable to be drafted into the army, and might be called upon to serve either for twenty years in the infantry, or for ten in the cavalry. None could be appointed a military tribune, nor even sue for election to a civil magistracy, until he had served at least half of the full term. When the full term had expired, the legionary was entitled to an honourable discharge. He was called 'emeritus,' and generally received a grant of land; in great emergencies, however, he might still be recalled to the standards for a short period. The changes introduced by Marius caused the military career to become much more of a profession than it had been, and the rule requiring legionary service of any aspirant to a magistracy was relaxed; while at the same time it often happened that old soldiers were induced, by attachment to their generals, or by hopes of promotion or plunder, to prolong their service beyond the stipulated term of ten or twenty years. Under the Empire the term of service was fixed at sixteen years for the Prætorian guards and twenty for the legionaries. The latter, however, were entitled during their last four years to serve together in a separate body with a distinct flag, whence they received the name of 'Vexillarii.' These troops were excused from all manual labour, and their

sole duty was to fight when occasion arose; the infringement of this privilege was the frequent cause of mutinies in the imperial camps on the Rhine and the Danube.

Under the imperial system many of the legions became permanent organisations, which retained their titles, and in some cases their stations, unaltered for centuries. These titles were both numerical and special. Thus as many as five legions were called by the title 'Tertia,' and these could only be distinguished from each other by their special titles, one of them being known as 'Tertia Parthica,' another as 'Tertia Gallica,' and so on, the title generally indicating the war for which the legion was raised, or the country where it was recruited, or the commander who incorporated it. In some cases the titles were more fanciful in their character, as in the case of Cæsar's favourite Gaulish legion entitled 'Alanda,' from the plume resembling a lark's crest worn in the head-piece. This legion, at first only an auxiliary force, was subsequently incorporated in the imperial army as 'Legio Quinta Alanda.' During the five centuries of imperial rule, the names and numbers of the legions of necessity varied; old organisations died out, and new ones were created as occasion arose. It may suffice to point out that under Augustus the legions were twenty-five in number; under Alexander Severus, A.D. 230, thirty-three at least, of which nineteen had retained their identity from the time of their incorporation by Augustus.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE DISASTROUS CAMPAIGN OF CRASSUS AGAINST THE PARTHIANS.

THE adventurous career of Cæsar in Gaul excited the keenest interest among his countrymen in Rome. They heard his successes recited in the solemn decrees of the senate. They saw the buildings with which he decorated the city loaded with trophies of the conquered Gauls. Their admiration was kindled into rapture by the eulogies of Cicero, who exalted

the triumphs of their great proconsul above those of all the ancient imperators. 'Marius,' said he, 'drove back the Gauls from Italy, but Cæsar has penetrated their fastnesses and conquered them. The Alps were planted there by the gods, as a barrier against the barbarians, to shelter Rome in her infancy. Now let them sink, and welcome; from the Alps to the Ocean she has no enemy to fear.'

The Romans might well marvel at the splendid performances of the man whom they had known a few years before only as the profligate spendthrift, the elegant debauchee. But his enemies hoped that his strength would give way under the toils of protracted warfare. Instead, they heard with amazement how this sickly gallant was climbing mountains on foot, swimming rivers, riding his horse unbridled, sleeping amid rain and snow in the depths of forests and morasses. If he spared his body at times it was only to exercise his mind; reading and writing on various subjects, maintaining an immense correspondence, official and private, dictating to four or even to seven secretaries at once. The prolongation of Cæsar's command for a second period of five years was looked upon by the people as a pledge of their hero's advancement to supreme power. The senate viewed it with bitter vexation, and Cato went so far as to propose that he should be given up to the enemy on the pretence of some breach of faith with them. Pompeius and Crassus smiled at their colleague's advancement, each of them hoping to profit by the precedent for his own exaltation.

Pompeius, as proconsul of Spain, rejoiced to find himself once more at the head of an army. Six legions were assigned him for his government; but, contrary to all usage, he chose to administer it by his lieutenants, while he remained himself in Italy. During the remainder of his consulship he strove by lavish shows and largesses to recover his waning popularity. In vain did he open his splendid theatre in the Campus Martius, the first stone structure of the kind ever built in Rome. It could seat 40,000 spectators, and was adorned with gold, marble, and precious stones. At the opening ceremony 500 lions were hunted in the arena, and eighteen elephants were opposed to a trained band of gladiators; but the citizens were sickened by the sufferings of such noble victims.

Crassus, who for sixteen years had not appeared in camp, was impatient to seize upon his province. He longed to emulate

the triumphs of Pompeius in Asia, of Cæsar in Gaul, and vaunted that from his province of Syria he would penetrate to the farthest limits of the East, to the Indus and the Persian Gulf. But the nobles were uneasy and jealous, and by means of the tribune Ateius excited the religious scruples of the people against a scheme of unprovoked invasion. Ateius met him at the gates on his departure, and, casting incense upon a burning brazier, devoted the impious aggressor to the infernal gods. Both citizens and soldiers were deeply impressed, and the expedition seemed from the first doomed to ill-fortune.

The Parthians, the most powerful nation of the East, who occupied the realm of Cyrus and Darius from the Caspian to the Persian Gulf, were an offshoot of the great Scythian or Tartar stock. Two hundred years after the death of Alexander they overthrew the Macedonian dynasty in Seleucia, and but for the Romans would have subdued Syria also. Their progress was checked by Rome on the banks of the Euphrates; and for many centuries Rome was the last bulwark against these barbarians of the widespread Greek civilisation of the East. The Parthians indeed had in a measure exchanged the rude simplicity of their ancestors for the voluptuous ease of their Hellenic capitals; but the nation still retained its fame for martial prowess, and its mail-clad bowmen, mounted on agile horses, were formidable alike in the charge and in the retreat.

Crassus, on reaching his province, crossed the Euphrates at once, unopposed, and took and garrisoned several towns. On the approach of winter he retired to Syria to collect resources, to extort tribute and plunder, and to prepare supplies for a long and distant campaign. The Parthians sent an envoy to demand whether his aggressions imported a declaration of war on the part of the Republic. When he haughtily replied that he would give them an answer in their own capital, the Parthian smiled, and pointing to the palm of his hand, declared that hair would sooner grow there than the Romans ever see Seleucia. The confidence thus felt or feigned impressed the Roman soldiery, who were already made anxious by reports of the prowess of this new enemy. Unfavourable omens were announced, but Crassus heeded them not. He had secured the aid of Artabazes, king of Armenia, but neglecting his wise counsel to adopt a northerly well-watered route, he determined to advance across the desert of Mesopo-

U.C. 700, B.C. 54.

tamia. A treacherous guide led the army away from the river into the midst of treeless, sandy wastes, where the soldiers fainted with toil and thirst, and were scared by the dreary scenery around them. He then gave the Romans the slip, and betook himself to the Parthians whom he had so well served.

U.C. 701, B.C. 53.

After a few days' eastward march, Crassus reached a stream where for the first time he encountered the enemy. Orodes, the Parthian king, had sent forward his vizier Surena to watch and check his movements. The legions were taken by surprise, supposing the enemy to be flying before them. Cassius, an able officer, advised the extension of their line, but Crassus obstinately formed his troops into a massive square, scarcely giving them time to drink at the stream. The close Roman formation supplied a good mark to the storm of Parthian arrows, but was useless in attacking their light cavalry. Crassus ordered his son to charge at the head of his small force of Gaulish cavalry. The youth attacked gallantly, but, deprived of the support of the legions, was soon overpowered and slain. The Parthian arrows continued to thin the Roman ranks, and when evening fell the survivors sank exhausted on the ground. Crassus in this terrible emergency proved utterly helpless. Cassius and other officers gave the signal for retreat, and the remnant of the legions staggered through the darkness back towards Carrhæ, where their last outpost had been left. With the help of the garrison, Crassus was barely enabled to reach its walls. The place, however, was judged to be indefensible, and the broken army began its retreat in several detachments. The Parthians, however, overtook Crassus and harassed his division severely. Could he hold out but a few hours longer he would reach the hills, and be safe from the attacks of his mounted pursuers. At this juncture some liberated Roman prisoners came into camp primed with stories of the clemency of the Parthian monarch, and bearing an invitation to Crassus to capitulate on favourable terms. The undisciplined soldiery clamoured for submission, and the proconsul, against his own judgment, yielded to the outcry. A meeting was arranged between him and Surena, in the course of which the two parties came to blows, and Crassus with his officers was slaughtered. The main body of the army escaped to the hills, but the expedition had cost the Romans 20,000 slain and

10,000 made prisoners. These last were kindly treated, and allowed to settle in the country.

The head and hand of Crassus were sent to Orodes; and the victorious Parthian soldiers were amused with a burlesque imitation of a Roman triumph. Orodes allied himself by marriage with the Armenian Artabazes, and during the festivals which ensued the head of the murdered Crassus was introduced to give point to the declamation of an actor. Among other insults offered to this bloody trophy, the story runs that molten gold was poured into the mouth of the avaricious Roman.

CHAPTER XLIV.

ANARCHY IN THE CITY. VACILLATION OF POMPEIUS. CÆSAR PREPARES TO SEIZE UPON THE GOVERNMENT.

THE slaughter of a proconsul and the rout of several legions, the gravest disaster which had befallen the Roman arms since the first victories of the Cimbri, made but a faint impression upon the citizens, whose whole attention was absorbed by the state of affairs at home. One of the triumvirate was now dead, the union between the two survivors had been already weakened by the death of Julia, the daughter of one and the wife of the other. Corruption and violence in the city continued to grow to such a pitch of extravagance as to compel the best men of the state to contemplate in their despair the necessity of a dictatorship.

The year 701 opened with an interregnum which lasted six months. No comitia had been held, and no consuls elected, owing to the flagrant bribery of the candidates. The prolongation of the crisis, however, alarmed Cato, who, in the name of his party, made advances to Pompeius to come forward and require an election to be held. Pompeius gladly responded to the invitation. When he interposed to facilitate the election of Calvinus and Messala, the nobles once more hailed him as their champion.

The difficulty of getting consuls duly elected recurred, and the following year, B.C. 52, opened with an interregnum. This time it was violence rather than bribery that hindered the

course of the law. Milo, Scipio, and Hypsæus demanded the consulship with arms in their hands; every day was marked by scenes of riot and bloodshed in the Forum. Amid many obscure murders which disgraced this period, one stands out conspicuous for its disastrous consequences. It happened that Milo was travelling on the Appian Way escorted, as was his wont, by a troop of armed retainers. A few miles from the city he was met by Clodius similarly attended. A quarrel arose between the two parties, and Clodius, wounded in the struggle, took refuge in a neighbouring tavern. Milo gave way to his fury, attacked the house, and caused his enemy to be dragged forth and slain. The corpse was picked up by a passing friend, and brought to Rome. The people, on recognising their favourite demagogue, burst into riotous tumult; benches, books, and papers were snatched from the curia of the senate; fire was set to the funeral pile thus formed, and, together with the remains of Clodius, a considerable section of the city was consumed. Riotous attacks ensued upon the houses of Milo and other nobles. Milo repelled his assailants with bloodshed, and after some days of uproar order was restored.

The outrageous violence thus exhibited by nobles and people alike manifestly threatened the Republic with anarchy and dissolution. Men of peace, like Cicero, held aloof from the Forum, where force and bribery had taken the place of law and justice. Cato himself, though unshaken in courage, despaired of the ancient principles of the commonwealth, and, much as he loved liberty, was driven to seek in the authority of a personal ruler protection for the state and for society. 'It is better,' he said, 'to choose a master than to wait for the tyrant whom anarchy will impose upon us.' But, in fact, no choice remained in the matter. There was but one man at whose feet Rome could throw herself. With bitter reluctance Bibulus proposed the appointment of Pompeius as sole consul, and Cato supported him. They might hope that the great man would use his power with moderation, would restore order in the city, and would find means for compelling the proconsul of Gaul to surrender his province and disband his armies. Such results might be cheaply purchased by a year of despotism. Pompeius did his best to soothe their anxieties, and declared that he would take Cato as his adviser, and rule the state in the interests of freedom.

The sole consul entered upon his office at the end of February, U.C. 702, and at once adopted without reserve the policy of the Optimates. For himself he kept firm hold on his proconsular imperium and his Spanish province; but throwing off all pretence of an alliance with Cæsar, he undertook to wrest out of his hands the power which he wielded. To please the populace Milo was surrendered to stand his trial. Cicero prepared an oration in defence of him, in which he would have congratulated the state on being delivered from such a ruffian as Clodius; but when he rose to address the tribunal, the fury of the people, and the presence of an armed force introduced by the consul, dismayed him. He stammered through a short and nerveless speech, and sat down, leaving his task half finished. Milo was found guilty and banished to Massilia; and when Cicero sent him a copy of the splendid declamation he had purposed to deliver, he sarcastically remarked that he thought himself lucky in that it had never been spoken, 'else,' said he, 'I should not be now enjoying the delicious mullets of this place.'

Pompeius had little difficulty in restoring tranquillity to the city, weary of riot and bloodshed. As the pupil of Sulla, the conqueror of the Marians, he was justly feared. But he failed to conceive any large measures of reform which might infuse new life into the commonwealth. He passed laws against bribery; he prohibited the eulogies which the powerful friends of an accused man used to utter before the judges in his behalf; he decreed that no magistrate should have a province till five years after he had quitted office, and that no man should sue for a public charge while absent from home. These excellent laws he himself violated whenever it suited his convenience; pleading in his own person for his father-in-law, Metellus Scipio; claiming a renewal of his proconsulship while he was actually consul; and favouring Cæsar's candidature for a second consulship, though he was absent in Gaul.

The brilliant successes of Cæsar had made a deep impression on the citizens, which was kept alive by the splendid structures reared at his expense in their midst. On the site of the Curia Hostilia, lately burnt down, rose the stately hall of Julius, and a space was cleared hard by for the construction of a grand piazza—the Forum Julii. To the disgust of the senatorial leaders, Cæsar, however far away, still controlled the elections in the city; and now that he chose to sue for a second consul-

ship, it was found impossible to resist him, and even Pompeius, though he did so with a bad grace, had no choice but to acquiesce.

Cæsar's demand was not dictated by vanity. His term of proconsular government was about to expire, and it was a matter of vital importance to him, involving his personal safety, that he should return to Rome protected by the dignity of the consular office. His enemies were already open-mouthed against him. Both impeachment and assassination were discussed among them. They scanned the news from Gaul in eager hope of hearing that some disaster had befallen him; and nothing would have pleased them better than to learn that the conqueror of Gaul had met the fate of the invader of Parthia. After ten years of military autocracy it was impossible for Cæsar to step down quietly into the position of a private citizen. The jealousies aroused by his elevation were too bitter. Could he at this point of his career attain the consulship, he might pass from thence once more to the rank of proconsul, and again defy his foes at the head of his legions. It is difficult to say whether this necessity was of his own contriving; but it existed, and upon it turned the impending establishment of the Empire.

At the end of six months Pompeius brought his sole consulship to an end by associating with himself Metellus Scipio, his father-in-law. Before quitting office he took care to prevent the succession of Cato to the consulship by securing it to Serv. Sulpicius and M. Marcellus. The latter, a violent aristocrat, insisted on the recall of Cæsar, though the senate had just decreed a supplication of twenty days in honour of his victory over Vercingetorix. He also aimed another insult at the proconsul by ordering a citizen of the Latin colony of Novum Comum (the modern Como), which was under Cæsar's patronage, to be beaten with rods. Cæsar and his friends resented the indignity as a studied affront to the popular chieftain.

Pompeius still lingered at the gates of Rome in command of his legions, as usual, in critical moments, vacillating and uncertain what course to pursue. Cato and Marcellus continued to thunder against the Gallic proconsul, while Cicero, the most prudent member of the party, was prevailed upon to accept the distant government of Cilicia. The orator was unwilling to quit the centre of affairs, and despite the scornful neglect with which he was treated by

U.C. 703, B.C. 51.

the oligarchs, he clung to the hope that he might once again be called to interpose and save the state a second time. He departed, however, and on reaching Cilicia found that a threatened inroad of the Parthians had been already repelled by Cassius. He earned the title of imperator in petty warfare against the robber tribes of the hill country, and flattered himself that he might be permitted to celebrate a triumph for this paltry success. His civil administration was upright and moderate, in startling contrast to the tyranny of other proconsuls.

In reply to Marcellus's demand for Cæsar's immediate recall, Pompeius proposed to allow him six months' respite; a half measure which both irritated him beyond hope of reconciliation and gave him an interval for preparation. The foolish behaviour of Pompeius at this crisis may probably have been due to the fact that he was already sickening of a serious malady. His life was for some time despaired of at Neapolis, and the danger he was in aroused a remarkable demonstration of sympathy among the Italians, who crowded the temples to pray for his recovery, and besieged his litter with congratulations as he slowly returned to Rome on his convalescence. It is no wonder that the sick man misjudged the value of all this popularity, and supposed that his great name was a charm of all-powerful might. He could not guess that the same voices which now welcomed him the loudest would so soon be raised in frenzied acclamation around the conqueror of Gaul.

At the beginning of the year 50, the state of the political game stood thus: the senate had secured the accession of two consuls of their own party, C. Marcellus, who was devoted to their cause, and Paulus Æmilius, who had in fact sold himself to Cæsar for the means of building his splendid basilica. Cæsar's commission in Gaul would not naturally expire till the end of 49; but it was determined, that if he persisted in suing for the consulship, a successor should be at once appointed to relieve him of his military command before he should appear in the city as a candidate. Cæsar's friends might reasonably insist that in that case like measure should be meted to his rival Pompeius. Among the new tribunes was one Scribonius Curio, whose devotion to Cæsar could only be explained by his having been bought with Gallic gold. He was of aristocratic birth, and in spite of dissipated habits had attracted the favourable notice of Cicero. Cæsar, however, had relieved him from

embarrassment, and had offered him prospects by whose brilliancy he was easily seduced. Meanwhile Cæsar was using the truce accorded to him in organising his resources, and moving his troops quietly towards the Italian frontier. The senate, too, was well armed and confident. Pompeius could at any moment transport his seven legions across the sea from Spain. It was supposed that Cæsar's veterans were disaffected, and his resources exhausted. Atticus imagined that he could embarrass him by calling in a debt of 50 talents. Marcellus now proposed that Cæsar should be recalled from November next ensuing, nearly a full year before the expiration of his command. Curio replied by threatening a similar motion against the command of Pompeius. If this were not passed he was prepared to veto the other. The consul was outmanœuvred, and resorted to violent language; but the people hailed Curio with acclamations.

Matters were evidently hastening to a crisis, yet no preparations were made for the impending struggle. If Marcellus urged Pompeius to concentrate in Italy his Spanish forces, he was checked by the great warrior's vainglorious reply: 'I have but to stamp with my foot to raise legions in Italy.' Thus reassured, the senate decided to recall Cæsar at once. Curio vehemently remonstrated; the attitude of the people was menacing; and the vacillating senate, by a second decisive vote, demanded the simultaneous resignation of both proconsuls. Meanwhile Cæsar stationed himself at Ravenna, ominously near the frontier of Italy, and continued to draw his troops towards him. Marcellus, foreseeing the imminent danger, sought out Pompeius in his Alban villa, thrust a sword into his hand, and invited him to take command of all the troops in Italy for the defence of the commonwealth. Cæsar was still strictly within his rights, but the position of Pompeius was no longer legal. Curio protested against the proconsul's call to arms, declared that the inviolability of his office no longer protected him, and that the laws had ceased to reign, and suddenly quitted the city for his patron's camp.

The pretext which Cæsar wanted to justify his meditated course was now provided; but he determined to wait and draw his opponents further into the snare. He therefore proposed to the senate to resign his Transalpine province, retaining only the Cisalpine and Illyricum with two legions. This offer

being rejected, he would be content to lay down all his commands if Pompeius would do the same. Failing the acceptance of this condition, he would come in person to Rome to avenge his own and his country's injuries. The government refused to listen to these overtures; the consuls pronounced the state in danger; and the senate proclaimed that Cæsar, if he did not lay down his arms, should be treated as a public enemy. In vain did the tribunes Antonius and Cassius interpose their veto in Cæsar's interest. In this supreme crisis, the senate refused to be bound by constitutional rules. Pompeius occupied the city and its environs with military force. The refractory tribunes were threatened with punishment. Antonius and Cassius, together with Curio, fled as if for their lives. In leaving the city, they signified that they threw up their outraged offices, for the tribune was forbidden to step outside the walls during his term of service. Arrayed in all the dignity of violated independence, they knew that they would be eagerly received at the proconsul's quarters, and paraded through the camp as the cause and justification of war.

CHAPTER XLV.

CÆSAR CROSSES THE RUBICON AND SECURES HIS AUTHORITY OVER ITALY AND THE WEST.

It has been argued in defence of the revolt which Cæsar was about to perpetrate that the action of his opponents was technically illegal. But the situation cannot be rightly judged on such simple grounds. Cæsar's irregular ambition had brought things to such a pass that it was impossible for any government to keep strictly within the law in resisting him. His justification, if there be one, is rather to be sought in the decay of ancient ideas, in the disorganisation and corruption of the existing system of the Republic, in the fact that the altered circumstances of Rome required a new form of government, and impelled men by an irresistible tendency to seek it under the authority of a personal ruler. Such a consummation had been already foreshadowed by the consulships of Marius and

Cinna, by the dictatorship of Sulla, by the wide and protracted commands entrusted to Pompeius and Cæsar. Such autocracies had satisfied the nobles, so long as they were wielded by the chiefs of their own order. The people were no less disposed to accept them, if only they might choose their sovereign for themselves. The men of philosophic mind who still clung to the ancient forms of the Republic, under which liberty had so long flourished, were aware that those forms had ceased to be living realities, and that license rather than liberty now grew under their rank shelter.

Two letters exist which purport to have been addressed to Cæsar at this juncture. Though ascribed on insufficient authority to the historian Sallust, they probably express the sentiments of men of his class and character. In them Cæsar is invited to assume the government as the man who alone can remedy the disorders of the state. 'Save Rome,' exclaims the writer. 'Save this mighty empire from decay and dissolution. Infuse a new element of life into this corrupt and disorganised populace by introducing numbers of foreign citizens. Crush the factions of tyrants at home, and extend far abroad the roots of the Roman community. Exact military service from all, but limit the term of it. Let the magistrates be chosen for their virtues, not for their wealth. Let the impartial eye of a supreme ruler watch over and control this reformed polity, so that neither fear nor favour nor private interest may interfere to stifle its free growth.' This exposition of the views of intelligent public men was supported by the mass of the middle class, the men who were working their way to wealth by trade and humble industry. A general distrust was felt of the ascendency of the nobles, who had so often resorted, in their own selfish interests, to a policy of revolution and proscription. At this very time it was reported that a list had been prepared of forty senators and many humbler citizens doomed to slaughter, and Cæsar's accession to power was anticipated as an era of peace and security. Great weight accrued to Cæsar's cause from the favour in which he was held among the foreign subjects of the Republic. To them monarchy was more familiar than the forms of a commonwealth, from whose franchise they were themselves for the most part excluded. Cæsar was personally beloved by multitudes who had never seen him, as the patron of the subject races. Not satisfied with the incorporation of

the Italians, he had advanced the Cispadane Gauls to the franchise, and the Gauls beyond the Po and even beyond the Alps might expect similar favour at his hands. In Greece and in Asia he had attached many communities to himself by his liberal policy. Foreign nations might well hope that Cæsar was preparing, like a second Alexander, to mould the whole Roman world into a mighty monarchy under equal laws.

The tribunes had quitted the city on the night of January 6. The consuls thereupon repaired to the camp of Pompeius, virtually resigning their authority to him. Fresh troops were levied, but the legions in Spain were left as a check upon Cæsar in his rear. Arms and money were forcibly collected, and the temples of the Italian towns were rifled of their treasures. Cæsar, who was informed of his enemies' plans, received the news of these proceedings by an express. He at once appealed for support to the one legion he had with him at Ravenna. On the 15th he sent forward some cohorts to the Rubicon, the frontier of his province, some twenty miles distant. The same evening he followed in person and crossed over with a small detachment. At Ariminum he was joined within a month by two legions. Three legions he stationed at Narbo to watch the Pompeian forces in Spain, while the remainder of his troops were concentrated in Southern Gaul, ready to face either east or west as occasion might demand. The actual force of the invaders, barely 6,000 strong, could hardly have resisted their opponents, who counted thrice their number. But as soon as the news reached Rome that the Rubicon had been passed, Pompeius, seized with consternation, marched through the southern gate of the city, and was followed along the Appian Way by a crowd of citizens terrified at the bare idea of an onslaught of Gaulish barbarians. U.C. 705, B.C. 49.

Some pretence at negotiation followed, and Pompeius was encouraged by the defection of Labienus, Cæsar's best officer. Cæsar advanced; Arretium, Iguvium, and Auximum promptly received him. The road to Rome lay open; but hearing that his adversaries were crossing the peninsula to the Adriatic coast, he turned to the left, traversed Picenum, took Cingulum and Asculum, and attacked the important fortress of Corfinium, where Domitius with a small garrison had been stationed. The latter called upon his fleeing general for support, but Pompeius coldly refused, and continued his march. In vain

did Domitius prepare to stand a siege. No sooner did Cæsar appear before the place than the garrison delivered it, with their commander, into his hands. Cæsar, with characteristic clemency, spared his captive and gave him his liberty—the first instance perhaps of such magnanimity in the history of Roman civil wars, though not the last in Cæsar's generous career. Whatever the officers might do, the soldiers of the garrison joined the victor's standard with alacrity, and his forces swelled to formidable numbers. As he advanced, the Italians, alienated by the fierce denunciations of Pompeius, pronounced in his favour.

Meanwhile Pompeius, without a halt, led the consuls and magistrates to Brundisium, whence he at once despatched several legions to Epirus, remaining himself to accompany the last of his divisions. Cæsar arrived at the gates in time to dispute his embarkation, but being destitute of ships, was unable effectually to hinder it.

In sixty days Cæsar had made himself master of Italy. In face of heavy odds and confident predictions of failure he had accomplished this enterprise. Meanwhile his rival was dragging the nobles of Rome after him in his rapid and ignominious flight. In vain did they clamour to be led against the invader, and heap reproaches on their chosen champion. He was not to be diverted from his plans; and he would not disclose them. At last, as he stepped on board at Brundisium, the love of home and country prevailed with many over every other feeling, and again the Appian Way was crowded with knights and senators; but this time with their faces towards the city. Many of these no doubt were indolent voluptuaries, who could not bear to forego their accustomed luxuries; but others were good citizens, who began to suspect some treachery in their leader. The ominous words were often in his mouth, 'Sulla could do this, why should not I?'—a warning that no victory of Cæsar was now so much to be dreaded as a victory of Pompeius. Those who clung to his fortunes were the needy spendthrifts and reckless adventurers of the party who hoped to profit by an abolition of debts and confiscation of properties on their return.

The flight of the great captain was not a mere panic, but part of a settled plan. His object was not to restore the chiefs of his party to power, but to grasp it for himself. He would

call upon the servile nations of the East to trample on the free citizens of Western Europe. War against Italy! war against Rome! was the cry of the most daring and profligate in his camp. 'We will starve the city into submission; we will not leave one tile upon a roof throughout the country,' was echoed by Pompeius himself. 'He left the city,' says Cicero, 'not because he could not defend it, not as driven out of it; but this was his design from the first, to move every land and sea, to call to arms the kings of the barbarians, to lead savage nations into Italy not as captives but as conquerors. He is determined to reign like Sulla, as a king over his subjects; and many there are who applaud this atrocious design.'

The flight of the consuls and the senate left Cæsar in possession of Italy and of Rome, and with them of all the material and moral resources he required. Cicero, whom he met in Campania, declined to follow him, and his scruples Cæsar could afford to respect. His first business, however, was to assure the citizens that they had no slaughter nor pillage to fear from him. He entered the city unattended; and while he engaged to give 2,000 sesterces to each of his soldiers, and 300 to every citizen, he made no requisitions, but demanded only the treasure hoarded in the temple of Saturn beneath the Capitol. The gold here deposited was believed to be the actual ransom of the city recovered from the Gauls by Camillus, and was held sacred to the one purpose of repelling a Gallic invasion. The tribune Metellus forbade it to be seized, but Cæsar pushed him aside. 'The fear of a Gallic invasion,' he said, 'is for ever at an end. I have subdued the Gauls.'

In the absence of the regular government the city was placed under military control; but it was of the utmost importance to secure the regular supply of corn, and the granaries of Rome, Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa were all held by Pompeian lieutenants. Sardinia was quickly mastered by Cæsar's troops, and Curio had no difficulty in driving Cato out of Sicily; but when he passed on with his troops into Africa he met with a stubborn resistance. Aided by the Numidian Juba, the Pompeians engaged him on landing and speedily overpowered him. Curio was slain, his troops were driven back into Italy, and Africa remained to Pompeius.

Leaving Rome under the command of Lepidus, and Italy under that of Antonius, Cæsar set out for Spain. 'I go,' he

said, 'to engage an army without a general; I shall return to attack a general without an army.' On his way thither he was delayed by the defection of Massilia, which had been stirred up by Domitius to declare for Pompeius and the senate. Cæsar left a considerable force to blockade the place, and hurried on to take command of the three legions which had preceded him into Spain. His position there soon became precarious. He was in want both of money and of provisions, and his camp was cut off by a flood which swelled the rivers Segre and Cinga, and swept away the bridges. The enemy exulted in the certainty of his destruction; but by the use of light coracles, such as he had seen in Britain, he maintained his communications. When the two armies met face to face a parley ensued, and the Pompeian legions, with little hesitation, passed over to his side.

This rapid conquest of Spain was soon followed by the reduction of Massilia. Domitius, however, again escaped, and rejoined his associates in Epirus. The western provinces of the empire were now completely Cæsarian. Secure in his rear, the conqueror could direct his undivided forces against his only formidable opponent, from whom he had just wrested the principal strength of his army. Cæsar was still at Massilia when he learnt that the people of Rome had proclaimed him dictator. It mattered little that the appointment had been irregularly made, that he had been nominated by the prætor and not by a consul, that he had been acclaimed by the people instead of by the senate. It was better that he should rule under a known historical title than with none at all. The people rejoiced to see themselves at last governed by a master of their own choosing, and forgot that his power rested on the army and not on themselves. Cæsar did not forget it, neither did his soldiers. The ninth legion mutinied at Placentia, and demanded the rewards he had promised them at Brundisium; but he suppressed the revolt with firmness and severity. His position was once more secure.

The special need for a dictatorship at this moment arose out of a fiscal crisis. The large class of debtors and repudiators, who had supported Cæsar's schemes, demanded their reward in the shape of a cancelling of their debts. Numbers of citizens had been reduced by the money-lenders, who charged interest of from twelve to forty per cent., to a state of intolerable bondage.

These were the men who had favoured the conspiracy of Catiline, and they confidently expected from Cæsar a forcible interference in their behalf. A precedent was not wanting in the history of the republic of a compulsory reduction of all debts by three-fourths. But the dictator, absolute as he was, refused to listen to this cry for confiscation. He appointed arbiters for the valuation of debtors' property, and insisted on its sale. The only relief he would afford the bankrupts was to disallow the claims for usurious interest, and to distribute grants of land among the most distressed. An ample largess of corn added to the general contentment. An amnesty was also granted to all those who had been exiled by Pompeius, excepting Milo and Antonius, the consul who had taken the field against Catilina. Cæsar held the dictatorship only eleven days, and did not even appoint a master of the horse. He then caused himself to be elected consul together with Servilius Isauricus. The other magistracies were conferred upon his adherents with every due formality, and before issuing from Rome to join his legions at Brundisium, he declared war against the public enemy, at the Latin feriæ, on the Alban Mount.

Nothing was now wanting to the regularity of his government: neither the decrees of the senate, for he had assembled more than half that body at Rome, nor the election of the people, the sanction of the curies, and the taking of the auspices on the spot appointed by custom and religion. Cæsar, as proconsul, was a rebel from the moment he quitted his province; but as soon as he became consul legitimately installed, the right, in the eyes of the Romans, passed to his side, while his adversaries were changed into enemies and traitors. The representative of the people had become the guardian of usage and public order, while the champion of the oligarchy derived his arbitrary power from the passions of a turbulent camp. Such was the political aspect which the struggle had now assumed, though, in reality, the contest was one of personal rivalry between the two chiefs.

CHAPTER XLVI.

CÆSAR DEFEATS POMPEIUS AT PHARSALIA, AND SUBDUES THE EAST AND AFRICA.

In the eyes of the Eastern potentates Pompeius was still the greatest captain and statesman in the world. From Galatia and Cappadocia, from Thrace, Cilicia, and Commagene, kings and princes obeyed his call, and assembled at Thessalonica, bringing with them a host of horsemen, bowmen, and slingers. For the nucleus of his army he had five legions which had followed him from Italy, and four more which he had summoned from their stations in the East. Nine complete legions may have amounted to 45,000 men: the cavalry and auxiliaries may have swelled the number to 100,000; the motley host of the allies was countless. These swarms of soldiers had to be dispersed, for the country could not maintain them together. Moreover, half the legionaries were raw levies which required careful training. Pompeius had another difficulty to contend with in the rival pretensions and discordant counsels of his officers. Lentulus, Marcellus, Domitius, the regenade Labienus, Cato, and Cicero were all striving to gain his ear and sway his judgment. Thus during nine months did Pompeius make his preparations and mature his plans on the coast of Epirus.

Cæsar could boast no such mighty armament, but his legions drawn from Spain and Gaul, from Italy and the Cisalpine, were for the most part tried and trained veterans, devoted to his imperium, and their officers were no less staunch. With such a force at his command, wielded by one mind, striking like a single arm, Cæsar need not encumber himself with numbers. At the end of the year 49 he was ready at Brundisium to embark with seven legions, numbering only 15,000 men and 600 horse. Pompeius held command of the sea with a fleet of 500 galleys; but Bibulus, who commanded it, was careless, and Cæsar boldly crossed the Adriatic with the first division of his forces. His transports, in returning to fetch the second division, were intercepted, and Cæsar had to content himself with evasive movements, till M. Antonius could equip a second convoy and bring over the remainder of his troops.

On the voyage Antonius was driven by the winds to a point

a hundred miles away from where his chief was stationed, and Pompeius, who lay between them, might easily have overpowered him. But this he failed to do. Cæsar effected his junction with his lieutenant, and, throwing himself between Pompeius and his magazines at Dyrrachium, calmly proceeded to draw lines of circumvallation round his enemy on the promontory of Petra, where his camp was pitched. This manœuvre did little harm to Pompeius, who could draw his supplies from the sea; but the spectacle of the great Pompeius thus blockaded by his daring assailant gave an impetus to the favour in which Cæsar's cause began to be held even in the countries where he was least known. Greece and Macedonia assured him of support, and thus encouraged, he pressed his blockade of Petra, and reduced his enemy to great straits by cutting off the streams which supplied his camp with water. Pompeius would not face his assailant, but led a large force round to attack him in the rear, and in this, their first encounter, he utterly routed Cæsar's troops, and might have destroyed him altogether. Cæsar fell back upon his new friends in Macedonia and Thessaly, and Pompeius was urged to seize the opportunity of recrossing the Adriatic and making a bold stroke for the recovery of Italy and Rome. But the East had still too strong a fascination for him, and turning his back once more on Rome, he directed his forces on Macedonia, though too late to overtake his rival, who had already penetrated into Thessaly, and occupied the great valley of the Peneus.

The nobles in the senatorial camp amused themselves with quarrelling over the expected spoils of war, and both Cato and Cicero were so disgusted by their truculent threats that they stayed behind in Epirus.

Pompeius at length moved southward from Larissa and offered battle to Cæsar, who stood posted on the banks of the Enipeus, not far from the conspicuous hill on which towered the fortress of Pharsalia. In spite of his superior numbers both of legionaries and of cavalry, without counting his host of foreign auxiliaries, Pompeius for a long time shrank from the issue of battle.

At length on August 9, shortly before noon, the Pompeian army deployed on the plain, with the stream of Enipeus on their right. The Cæsarians, less than half their number of infantry, and vastly inferior in cavalry, U.C. 706, B.C. 48.

promptly accepted the challenge. Their left wing rested on the stream; their right was covered by the few squadrons of brave German horsemen which formed the whole of Cæsar's cavalry. The Pompeian infantry were ordered to await the onset of the enemy. Cæsar commanded his legions to charge, and this they did with effect, wasting no force upon the slaughter of the barbarian allies, but pressing hard upon the Roman legions. The cavalry of Pompeius charged in their turn, clothed in complete armour, and outnumbering their German opponents seven times. The latter bravely withstood the shock, striking at their enemies' unprotected faces, and slowly retiring upon their supports. This cavalry contest decided the battle. The Pompeian horsemen broke their ranks and retired in disorder. Cæsar seized the opportunity to bring up his reserves, and charging at the same moment both in front and in flank, he threw the Pompeian infantry into disorder. As soon as Cæsar saw that fortune had decided in his favour, he gave orders to spare the Roman citizens, but to destroy the foreigners. Pompeius had already withdrawn to his camp, and when he found that his routed battalions were in full flight, he mounted his horse and galloped off towards Larissa.

Pompeius seems to have risked his whole fortune upon the issue of this one battle. No provision was made for the contingency of defeat; no attempt to rally the forces of his powerful, though broken, party. Passing by Larissa, he gained the Ægean coast near the mouth of the Peneus, and there embarked on board a merchant ship with a few of his officers. At Lesbos he picked up his wife Cornelia, and as he passed along the coast of Asia he was joined by a few more of his adherents. The wild idea of taking refuge with the king of Parthia seems to have occurred to him, but this was overruled, and he steered instead for Egypt, where he would be inaccessible to an enemy destitute of a fleet, and where he might yet hope to collect his friends, and prepare for another struggle.

The fugitive arrived at Pelusium with about 2,000 men. By the will of the late king his daughter Cleopatra was destined to wed her brother Ptolemæus, then a mere stripling, and to reign conjointly with him under the guardianship of a council of state. Cleopatra, however, had been expelled the kingdom,

and was at this moment threatening to invade it, and recover her rights by force. The king's army was drawn up on the eastern frontier to oppose her, and the small band of Pompeius might have secured the victory to either party. The royal council determined not to accept his dangerous alliance, but at the same time to prevent him from joining the other side. He was treacherously inveigled into a boat without an escort, and there murdered, his head cut off, and his body cast into the surf, whence it was shortly washed up on the beach. His freedman recognised the mutilated corpse, and burnt it on a rude pyre made from the wreck of a fishing boat. The ashes he buried in the sand, and placed over them a stone, on which he traced, with a blackened brand, the word 'Magnus.' Thus perished the great Pompeius at the close of his fifty-eighth year, and such were the sorry honours paid to the last hero of the Commonwealth—to him who had gained three triumphs over the three continents of the ancient world, had been thrice consul, and once without a colleague, whose proconsulate had extended over the East and West alternately, who might have demanded the dictatorship, and perhaps have seized the empire.

The victor of Pharsalia never failed to improve his successes by promptness and decision. He left one division to watch Cato in Illyricum, and another to complete the reduction of Greece. Attended only by a squadron of horse and one legion, he hotly pursued Pompeius by way of the Hellespont, where he received the submission of Cassius. Thence he marched across Asia Minor and Syria, and taking ship from the Syrian coast, reached Alexandria with 4,000 men a few days after the death of Pompeius. The head of his enemy was shown to him, but he turned from it with horror, and ordered the remains to be honourably interred.

When Cæsar marched into the capital with the ensigns of a Roman consul at the head of his army, the people took offence, and bloody affrays began between the Cæsarians and the men of the Egyptian army. Cæsar, who was in want of money, soon got possession of the king's person; at the same time he admitted Cleopatra to an interview, became enamoured of her, and avowed himself her lover and her champion. The young king's advisers trembled for their lives, and raised the populace against the intruders, who were shut up in a confined

quarter of the town, and reduced to great straits for want of water. To keep open his retreat by sea Cæsar fired the Egyptian fleet, and in the conflagration thus caused, the great library of the museum, with 400,000 volumes, was destroyed.

Cæsar's position in the midst of a hostile population became more and more precarious. In vain he attempted to seize the isle of Pharos by a *coup de main*. He was repulsed, and only saved his life by swimming, bearing (it was said) his Commentaries in one hand. At length the reinforcements he was waiting for arrived, and enabled him to assume the offensive. Ptolemæus perished. The Egyptians submitted, and Cleopatra was established as their queen.

Cæsar, whose finances were at a low ebb, felt his mouth watering for the treasures of Egypt, the richest country in the world. Perhaps it was the need of gold rather than the fascinations of the 'Serpent of the Nile,' which caused him to delay three months longer in the country. But he was roused to action by the encroachments of Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, who had taken advantage of the divisions of the republic to attack his neighbours Deiotarus and Ariobarzanes. These princes, though they had just been fighting on the side of Pompeius, appealed to Calvinus, Cæsar's lieutenant, for help. Calvinus received orders to support them, but he was worsted in battle, and Pharnaces overran Asia Minor. In April, 47, Cæsar quitted Alexandria, landed at Tarsus, traversed Cilicia and Cappadocia, and encountered the barbarian host at Zela, in Pontus. In one battle he overthrew and destroyed the power of Pharnaces. In five days the war was at an end. 'I came, I saw, I conquered,' was the boastful phrase in which he announced his success to the senate. Pompeius had taken years to subdue Mithridates.

It may be imagined with what anxiety those who remained in Rome watched Cæsar's operations in Epirus and Thessaly. Even the victory of Pharsalia scarcely set their minds at rest, for they heard that the conqueror was plunging still further into the distant East. Nevertheless his adherents removed the statues of Pompeius and Sulla from the Forum, and even his secret enemies were constrained to join in demonstrations of sympathy and confidence. Power, practically unlimited, was conferred upon him by successive decrees, and in October, B.C. 48, Cæsar was created dictator for the second time, and

also tribune of the people for his lifetime. He appointed M. Antonius his master of the horse and commandant in Rome. Brave, but violent and dissolute, Antonius had neither the vigour nor the prudence which the situation required. Rumours of Cæsar's perils at Alexandria began to circulate, and encouraged some of his opponents to venture on seditious disturbances. Antonius hesitated, uncertain how to act, until a personal affront from the tribune Dolabella, who had intrigued with his wife, aroused his passion; he attacked the turbulent mob with arms, and filled the streets with slaughter. It was well that the dictator appeared in person in September, B.C. 47.

Cæsar's return was marked by no proscriptions. He did, however, confiscate the estates of Pompeius, and of others who were still in arms against him. During the three months he remained in Rome he worked hard at reconstructing the government; he nominated himself and Lepidus as consuls for the ensuing year, and caused himself to be again created dictator. To his partisans and to the people he was lavish of his gifts, but some of his legions, notably the tenth, were dissatisfied. They marched in open mutiny from Campania to Rome to demand the fulfilment of their general's promises. Cæsar mustered them in the Campus, approached them unattended, and invited them to declare their grievances. His presence daunted them; they could only ask for their discharge. 'I discharge you, Quirites,' replied the imperator, and they shrank abashed by his rebuke. So purely military had been the relation between themselves and Cæsar, that they felt it a humiliation to be now no more than citizens.

Cæsar now departed to crush the remainder of his enemies in Africa. Cicero had already returned mournfully to Italy, but the *débris* of Pompeius' mighty army had gradually been assembled in Africa under the command of Scipio, Cato, and Cnæus Pompeius. The seven days' march of Cato and his legions through the desert, torrid with heat, and infested with serpents, is recorded with pride by Roman writers as the boldest exploit of their soldiers, and a monument of Cato's intrepid endurance.

The forces commanded by Scipio amounted to ten complete legions, and the Numidian Juba could bring 120 elephants and multitudes of light cavalry into the field. The officers of this

great army began to discount their future triumphs, but the want of money, and the want of unity among their chiefs, forced them to await inactively the attack of their enemy. Scipio, the imperator, Varus, the proconsul of the province, and Juba, the Numidian king, contended for the supreme command. Cato, alone of the chiefs, acted with his single-minded patriotism. His associates got rid of him by charging him with the defence of Utica, while they remained at Adrumetum. Early in the year 46 an envoy arrived with a summons to surrender to Cæsar the imperator. In reply they put him to death as a deserter. But Cæsar was not far behind him. He landed at Leptis with five legions, and began at once to intrigue with the Mauretanian and Numidian princes. He then advanced and offered battle to Scipio, who shrank from it till Juba had joined him. At length, on April 4, the armies met on the field of Thapsus. Cæsar's troops rushed eagerly to the attack, and their leader, abandoning his tactics, gave the word 'Good luck!' galloped to the front and charged at their head. One after another the elephants, the Numidian cavalry, and the legions of Scipio gave way. The resistance made was slight; the rout of the Pompeians complete; the slaughter immense. Both Scipio and Juba fled from the field, but perished soon after.

U.C. 708, B.C. 46.

Cato and his officers were disposed to make a stand at Utica, but yielding to the entreaties of the inhabitants, they determined to surrender the city. When Cæsar approached, Cato invited his subordinates, and all who would, to escape by ship. For himself he determined to remain at his post. While the embarkation proceeded he sat down to supper with his son and some other attached friends, discoursing during the repast on the highest themes of philosophy. He then retired to his chamber to read Plato's volume on the immortality of the soul. During the night he stabbed himself with his sword, and the wound not proving immediately fatal, he tore it open with his own hands. Cæsar, when he heard of it, lamented that he had lost the pleasure of pardoning him. But, in fact, Cato was too honest and consistent to submit to a tyranny, however merciful and beneficent. Life would have been unendurable to him, except as a free citizen of a free republic. With the establishment of Cæsar's tyranny, Cato regarded his own career as prematurely closed, and deemed it his duty to extinguish an abortive existence.

CHAPTER XLVII.

CÆSAR REIGNS AS AN AUTOCRAT UNDER REPUBLICAN FORMS. HIS GREAT DESIGNS PARTIALLY ACCOMPLISHED.

WHEN Cæsar returned to Italy in July, there was no limit to the fulsome adulation with which the senate heaped honours upon him. A supplication of forty days was decreed in honour of his victory. Two statues of him were put up, one of them inscribed to 'Cæsar the demigod.' His image was to be borne in the procession of the gods at the lectisternia; temples even were dedicated to Cæsar's clemency, which were soon perverted to the worship of his own divinity. The seventh month of the year, the fifth of the ancient calendar, Quintilis, received the new name of Julius, which it still retains. The dictatorship was now conferred upon him for ten years, and with it the powers of the censorship for three years, by which means he acquired the right to revise the list of knights and senators at his will. He was authorised to nominate to one-half of the curule magistracies, the consulships only excepted, and to appoint governors to the prætorian provinces. In the senate he took his seat on a golden chair between the two consuls, and was the first to give his opinion. If he did not yet assume the diadem, he wreathed his temples with laurel, and prefixed to his name the title Imperator. Nor was the glorious title of 'Father of his country,' conferred by decree upon Camillus, by acclamation upon Cicero, withheld from Cæsar. He celebrated four triumphs—over the Gauls, over Ptolemæus, over Pharnaces, over Juba; but he claimed none for the victory of Pharsalia.

Cæsar's next care was to gratify his soldiers with ample largesses and the people with costly entertainments. A multitude, probably numbering close upon 200,000, were feasted at 22,000 tables; and after the banquet such shows were exhibited in the circus—such combats of wild beasts and gladiators—as had never been seen before. Over the theatre was stretched an awning of silk, the rarest production of the East; and the Romans were shocked to see some of knightly rank descend into the arena. Cæsar also opened a new Forum, and paid special honours to Venus, his ancestress and the patroness of his house.

As soon as these ceremonies were over the imperator started, late in September, for Spain, to crush the lingering resistance to his rule still maintained there by Cnæus Pompeius. Cæsar had hitherto left this motley crew of adventurers and robbers to be dealt with by his lieutenants, but their ill success roused him to make an effort in person. After some months of warfare and not a little peril, he finally stamped out the revolt on the field of Munda in March, B.C. 45. Great numbers of the old republican party perished; among them Varus, Labienus, and Cnæus Pompeius himself. Sextus, the younger son of the great Pompeius, alone escaped, to lead a wandering life as chief of a band of outlaws, among the wild Iberian mountains.

U.C. 709, B.C. 45. Cæsar then spent several months in settling the affairs of the Western provinces, and re-entered Rome in September.

On his return he celebrated a fresh triumph over the Iberians. Games and festivals followed, to the delight of the populace. At these there were present a wondrous concourse of all the nations of the Roman world. Moors and Numidians, Gauls and Iberians, Britons and Armenians, Germans, and even Scythians. The Jews offered their homage gladly to the only Roman who had treated them with kindness and respect. Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, was there, her crown in her hand, offering her treasures and her favours to her admirer and preserver. The subjects of the Empire entered Rome in Cæsar's train, and thus inaugurated the union of the capital with the provinces. It is Cæsar's glory that, when thus raised to the height of power, his hand fell heavily on none of his fellow-citizens. The nephew of Marius forgot the ruins of Carthage and the marshes of Minturnæ, and scorned to retaliate the proscriptions of Sulla. Even Cicero, the most humane of his own party, was amazed at the victor's clemency. With generous good taste, Cæsar ordered the restoration of the statues of Sulla and Pompeius to their places before the rostra. Towards the institutions of the Republic he showed a similar deference. While grasping the substance of absolute power, he allowed the shadows of the old free government, the senate, the comitia, the magistracies, to remain almost unchanged. It is true that he had little restraint to fear from a senate of which two-thirds were nominees of his own. The number of this assembly was now raised to 900, and among the new

additions were provincial allies, soldiers, perhaps even captives. Discredit fell upon the senate from the number and quality of these strange senators, but much more from the gross servility they displayed towards their master. Cæsar refused many of the prerogatives they offered him, but he retained, as champion of the people, the office of tribune, which rendered his person inviolable. He also consented that the imperium or military rule and the dignity of supreme pontiff should be made hereditary in his family. This provision marked before all the world his actual royalty, and though he never assumed the title of king, his golden chair and the regal magnificence of his robe denoted in all public assemblies his kingly power.

The dictatorship for life, the consulship for five years, with the command of the public treasure, secured to Cæsar the executive power of the state; the imperium gave him the command of its forces; the tribunate gave him a veto on its legislation. As *princeps*, or first man of the senate, he guided the debates of the national council; as censor, or *custos morum*, he controlled its composition. As chief pontiff, he could use the engine of the state religion to give a divine sanction to his acts. These various offices united to make him the autocrat of the Roman commonwealth; yet in assuming them he did nothing inconsistent with the forms and precedents of the republic.

There is good reason to think that in thus laying the foundation of his empire, Cæsar aimed at something higher than the mere gratification of his personal ambition. By attaching to his own person distinguished foreigners, and promoting them to places of dignity in the city and in the senate, he gave the first impulse to the fusion of his world-wide dominion into one national body. With the same object in view he extended the franchise to the medical profession, who were mostly of Greek origin, and to other whole classes of subjects: he prepared to do the same for Sicily, the nearest and the oldest of the provinces. Instead of endowing his veterans, after the manner of Sulla and Pompeius, with estates which they knew not how to cultivate, Cæsar preferred to reward them with gifts of money, and to keep them under his standards ready for further service. As a further step towards the unification of his vast dominion, he set on foot an elaborate geographical survey of the Empire. He next undertook the preparation of a code of Roman law.

This had to be compiled from many sources, from thousands of recorded judgments and precedents, from the edicts of prætors and pontiffs, from ancient traditions and customs. Cicero had recognised the urgent need for such a work. Cæsar did more; he saw that it could be done, and had he lived ten or twenty years longer, he would have anticipated by six centuries the glory of the imperial legislator Justinian.

Another work of great utility, the reformation of the calendar, was carried out by the great Julius, and posterity has called it by his name. As early as the days of Numa, the length of the solar year, the period of the earth's revolution round the sun, had been fixed, with a remarkable approach to accuracy, at 365 days and six hours. At the same time a lunar year, or twelve lunar months, occupies a period of 354 days, and this latter number was taken as the basis of the old Roman year, which accordingly fell short by eleven days and six hours of the true length of a solar year. In four years this defect would accumulate to forty-five days, which were made good by intercalating every second year an additional month of twenty-two and twenty-three days alternately. Afterwards one day was added to the 354, so as to make the number 355, an odd one, which was thought more lucky. In order to compensate for this superfluous addition, the system of intercalating the short months was modified by a very intricate process. The pontiffs, who regulated the calendar, purposely shrouded their system in as much mystery as possible, and then used it to serve political or private ends. Thus they would arbitrarily add a month to one year, so as to extend the term of office of a partisan, or the date of a friend's debt falling due. In another year they would withhold the rightful addition of a month, in order to favour some provincial governor who had made his fortune and wished to return home. The uncertainty thus produced had become an intolerable grievance, and at the time of Cæsar's advent to power it had been aggravated by the neglect of the pontiffs for several years to add any intercalary months at all, so that in the year B.C. 46 the calendar was eighty days in advance of the real date. The consuls who should have entered on their office on January 1, 46, really commenced their functions on October 13, 47. Cæsar, as chief pontiff, had made it his business to acquire a thorough knowledge of astronomy. He determined to correct the imperfections of the old calendar, and called to his aid

Sosigenes, the best astronomer of his time. He decided that the year 45 B.C., the first of the new era, should begin on the day of the first new moon after the shortest day. In order to effect this, 90 days had to be added to the year 46. First an intercalary month of 23 days was inserted between the 23rd and 24th of February; next at the end of November two extra months of 30 days each, followed by one extra week, were inserted. This year, B.C. 46, contained 445 days, and was long remembered as the year of confusion. On January 1, 45, the Julian calendar, which is substantially the same as our own, came into operation, with its ordinary year of 365 days, and the additional day in February every fourth year, or leap year, to compensate for the six hours left out of account in each of the intervening years. Cæsar's calendar, though a great improvement on its predecessor, was not perfect. In the course of centuries the error accumulated to as much as twelve days, and this was again corrected by Pope Gregory XIII. in 1652, and provision was made in the Gregorian calendar to prevent any such error recurring in the future. This important correction was adopted in England in the middle of the last century; it has never yet been accepted in Russia and in other countries where the authority of the Greek Church prevails.

Like almost all the great men of Rome, Cæsar had a passion for material construction, but only a few of the great works which he designed were completed or even commenced. The substructions of his basilica and his forum are the sole remains of them which can now be traced.

In private life Cæsar took a leading place among the intellectual men of his time. It is pleasing to learn how the bitterness of political strife was softened among Roman statesmen by social intercourse of a cheerful, kindly nature. Literature and philosophy, especially that of the Epicurean school, contributed to the interest of a refined and genial society. Cæsar drew around him a group of thoughtful, scholarly, large-minded men, among whom he could unbend from the cares of empire and give himself up to festive mirth. At table he was distinguished for his moderation; but his numerous amours excited much scandal, and none more so than his passion for Cleopatra, whom he had installed in his palace and gardens on the other side of the Tiber. The noblest Romans, not excepting Cicero himself, flocked to her receptions, but when it was

rumoured that Cæsar meditated raising this barbarian foreigner to the dignity of his wife, public feeling was shocked at such a violation of religious and social customs. Cleopatra did indeed bear him a son, but if he ever cherished a wish to marry her, he refrained from gratifying it.

In religion Cæsar was an uncompromising sceptic. He had no belief in a future state, the foundation of all religion, and he set at nought the omens and auguries of the priests. Yet he failed to shake himself free from the thraldom of superstition. He crawled on his knees up the steps of the temple of Venus to propitiate Nemesis. He addressed a prayer to the gods before the battle of Pharsalia, and appealed to the omens before crossing the Rubicon. He even carried about with him in Africa a certain Cornelius, a man of no personal distinction, but whose name might be deemed propitious on the battle-fields of Scipio and Sulla.

In his intercourse with the Roman magnates, the representatives of the republican patriciate, Cæsar was not so much at ease; indeed, to some extent he stood in a false position. Autocrat though he was, he still professed to be the first citizen of a republic; and the grandees of Rome, accustomed to perfect equality in their intercourse with one another, were mortified at what seemed to them his haughty and capricious bearing. He, for his part, must have been keenly alive to the fact of his real sovereignty, and however modestly he might choose to represent his position, he would be disposed to exact deference and courtesy from those who seemed inclined to presume. He was their master, and it was right that they should know it. Once, when the senators came in a body to communicate to him their decrees in his honour, he received them without rising from his seat. After all, his natural and most befitting place was at the head of his legions, to whom his imperium was an acknowledged sovereignty. He accordingly projected a fresh war of conquest in which Parthia was to be subdued up to its farthest limits; and when this should be accomplished, he proposed to return across the Tanais and Borysthenes, subduing the barbarians of the North, and finally assailing the Germans in the rear. At the close of the year 45, he directed his troops to assemble in Illyricum, there to await his arrival. He contemplated a long absence, and provided for the succession of chief magistrates for the two following years. On January 1, 44, he entered on his fifth consulship, with M. Antonius for his colleague.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

CÆSAR IS ASSASSINATED. M. ANTONIUS GRASPS AT POWER.

THE destined heir of Cæsar's imperium was already in the camp at Apollonia, taking lessons in arts and arms under the ablest teachers. Caius Octavius, the son of Cæsar's sister's daughter, now in his nineteenth year, though delicate in health, was a youth of high promise. Cæsar had shown him much favour, had advanced his family from the plebeian to the patrician class, and had allowed it to be understood that he purposed to adopt his great nephew as his son, and to bequeath to him his patrimony and the dignities which the senate had declared hereditary in his family. The idea of a dynasty and of the hereditary succession of their rulers was unfamiliar to the Republican Romans, but it began now to be whispered, both among his friends and his foes, that Cæsar would like to be hailed as king. Two or three attempts were made to give the people an opportunity of adopting the suggestion spontaneously; but these were not responded to, and Cæsar cautiously pretended to deprecate such an honour. At length, on February 15, the day of the Lupercalia, a more determined effort was made to get the title conferred on him by acclamation. Cæsar presided over the festival, seated on his gilded chair. The consul Antonius, who was taking a prominent part in the ceremonies, approached the dictator with a diadem, and offered it to him as the gift of the Roman people. Some faint applause was heard, but when Cæsar put the tempting circlet from him, a loud burst of genuine cheering rent the air. On the diadem being again offered, Cæsar exclaimed, 'I am not king; the only king of the Romans is Jupiter:' and he ordered the diadem to be suspended in the Capitol.

The dictator's prudence had baffled any attempt to excite public feeling against him; yet among many of the nobles a bitter hostility was aroused by the bare thought that any man should presume to lord it over them as a king. A plot was formed for his destruction by sixty or eighty conspirators, among whom were some who professed the warmest devotion to him. Decimus Brutus had received the government of the Cisalpine from him. Trebonius, Casca, Cimber, and others

had received various marks of his favour. C. Cassius, who was most likely the author of the plot, had recently been appointed prætor. He was a vain, vindictive, jealous man, whose pale looks and acrid humour had not escaped Cæsar's watchful observation.

The conspirators required the charm of a popular name to sanction their projected tyrannicide. M. Junius Brutus, the nephew of Cato, pretended to trace his descent from a third son of that founder of the Republic who had not scrupled to take the life of his own two eldest sons. His mother was of the family of Ahala, the slayer of Spurius Mælius. His wife, Porcia, was the daughter of Cato, a woman of masculine spirit, firm and severe like her father. Brutus himself was a weak, vain, unstable man, who affected the character of a philosopher, yet clutched with sordid—even iniquitous greed at the emoluments of public life. Of all the Pompeians he had been the last to join, the earliest to desert the banner of the Republic. After Pharsalia he successfully courted the favour of Cæsar, who raised him to an eminence which pleased and dazzled him. The weakness of his character may be estimated from the means employed to work upon him. A paper affixed to the statue of the ancient Brutus with the words, 'Would thou wert now alive;' billets thrust into his hand inscribed 'Brutus, thou sleepest; thou art no longer Brutus,' shook the soul of the philosopher to its centre. Cassius, who had married his sister, easily drew him into the plot, and pretended to regard him as its chief support and contriver. His name struck a chord of association which ensured a large measure of popular sympathy whenever the deed should be done. So long as Cæsar remained in the city, opportunities would not be hard to find, for he insisted upon going about unarmed and without escort, protesting that it was better to die at once than to live always in fear of dying. But so soon as he should quit the city for the camp, his safety would be assured by the fidelity of the soldiers. It was apprehended, not without reason, that once more at the head of the legions he would not return as a citizen to Rome. Nay, it was possible that he might not choose to return to Rome at all, but transfer the seat of empire to some new site, Ilium, perhaps, or, if the charms of Cleopatra should retain their power, perhaps Alexandria.

Such considerations forbade delay. The imperator's departure

was imminent. The senate was convened for the Ides of March, the 15th of the month, and it was determined to strike the blow at the sitting of that day. Hints of impending danger reached Cæsar's ear; even the inauspicious day was brought to his notice; he would fain have excused himself from attending the assembly. But his fears were laughed away by Decimus, and he went. As he moved through the Forum to the theatre of Pompeius in the Campus more than one person tried to warn him of his danger. As he passed the Augur Spurinna he observed to him pleasantly, 'The Ides of March are come.' 'Aye, Cæsar,' replied the sage, 'but they're not gone.' He entered the hall, his enemies closing around him, and keeping his friends at a distance, Trebonius being specially charged to detain Antonius at the door. On his taking his seat, Cimber approached with a petition for his brother's pardon. The other conspirators joined in the supplication, grasping his hands and embracing his neck. Cæsar put them from him gently, but Cimber seized his toga with both hands and pulled it over his arms. Then Casca, who was behind, drew his dagger, and grazed his shoulder with an ill-directed stroke. Cæsar disengaged one hand with a cry, and snatched at the hilt. 'Help!' cried Casca, and in a moment fifty daggers were aimed at the victim. Cæsar defended himself for an instant, and wounded one man with his stylus; but when he distinguished Brutus in the press, the steel flashing in his hand also, 'What! thou too, Brutus!' he exclaimed, let go his grasp of Casca, and, drawing his robe over his face, made no further resistance. The assassins stabbed him through and through, and he fell dead at the foot of Pompeius' statue.

By the time the deed was done, the conspirators found themselves alone in the hall. Senators, lictors, attendants, all had fled. Antonius had slipped away unobserved to his own house. Great consternation fell on the citizens, who expected riot and massacre to follow; for while Decimus had armed some gladiators for his own and his friends' defence, the city was filled with Cæsar's veterans, and Lepidus with a legion was just outside the walls.

The assassins now marched to the Forum to seek the public approval of their deed. They shouted that they had slain a king and a tyrant, but they met with no response. Dismayed by this cold reception, they took refuge with their armed guards on the Capitol, and were joined there during the evening by Cicero

and others of the Republican party. Next day Brutus descended into the Forum and tried to stir the populace by a speech. He was coldly listened to, and finally driven back to his refuge on the Capitol. During the past night Antonius had not been idle; he had secretly obtained from Calpurnia, Cæsar's wife, the dead man's will, and his private treasures. With the help of his brothers he had also appropriated two million sesterces from the public treasury. Provided with these resources, he had made overtures to Lepidus, and received his promise of support.

Antonius, the minister and favourite companion of Cæsar, was regarded by many as his natural successor. Hitherto known chiefly for his bravery and dissipation, he was now about to display the arts of a consummate intriguer. He opened a negotiation with the liberators, and with their consent, as consul, convened the senate on March 17, near the Forum; but the murderers dared not leave the Capitol, and the discussion of their deed was carried on in their absence.

The majority of the senate would have declared Cæsar a tyrant; but Antonius pointed out that this course would have the effect of annulling all his acts and appointments, and thereupon those who were interested in maintaining them resisted the proposal with all their might.

At length, by the advice of Cicero, a compromise was agreed to. No judgment was pronounced either upon Cæsar or his murderers, but an amnesty or act of oblivion was decreed, which left Cæsar's acts unchallenged, and yet assured the safety of the liberators. The populace acquiesced, and invited the latter to descend from the Capitol, Antonius and Lepidus sending their children as hostages. The dictator's assignment of the provinces was then confirmed. Trebonius succeeded to Asia, Cimber to Bithynia, Decimus to the Cisalpine, while Macedonia was secured to Brutus, and Syria to Cassius, on the expiration of their term of office at home. Antonius, however, remained master of the situation. If Cæsar was not a tyrant, his will must be accepted, and his remains interred with public honours. Antonius recited the will to the people, in which Cæsar nominated Octavius his heir, and bequeathed his gardens by the Tiber to the Roman people and 300 sesterces to every citizen. The liberality of their departed favourite exasperated the rage of the people against his murderers. The funeral

pyre had been built in the Campus Martius, but the body lay in state in the Forum on a bier of gold and ivory. At its head hung the victim's toga hacked by the assassins' daggers; the twenty-three wounds by which his life blood had ebbed away were represented on a wax figure visible to all. Antonius, as chief magistrate of the Republic, now stepped forward to recite the praises of the mighty dead. The people, deeply moved by the sad spectacle before them, had been further excited by dramatic representations of the deaths of Agamemnon and Ajax by the treason of their nearest and dearest. Antonius read the decrees which had heaped honours upon Cæsar, had declared his person inviolable, his authority supreme, himself the father of his country. Then he pointed to the bleeding corpse which neither laws nor oaths had shielded from outrage, and vowed that he would avenge the victim whom he could not save. The people, in a frenzy of enthusiasm, insisted upon burning the body where it lay in the midst of the Forum. Chairs, tables, brushwood, were hastily piled together and the body laid upon them. The temple of Castor and Pollux stood hard by, and it was averred that two majestic youths, armed with sword and javelin, were seen to apply the torch. As the flame rose, the veterans hurled in their arms, the matrons their ornaments, even the children's trinkets were devoted. The foreigners present in the city, Gauls, Iberians, Africans, Orientals, were not behind the citizens in their demonstrations of reverence and grief for the dead. The success of Antonius was complete. The people, excited to fury, seized burning brands, and rushed to fire the houses of the conspirators. These attempts were repulsed, but Brutus and his associates dared not show themselves in public. Antonius now interfered to stop the rioting with armed force; he also took steps to conciliate the senate; he passed a resolution abolishing the office of dictator; and he proposed the recall of Sextus, the last survivor of the Pompeii. He at the same time communicated with the liberators Brutus and Cassius, who were in hiding, and offered them his good offices and protection. In return for all this, he asked one favour—the right to enlist a body-guard for his own protection. The senate weakly assented; and in a short time he had 6,000 men under arms.

The senate had confirmed Cæsar's acts, and this sanction Antonius caused to be extended to those which had been

merely projected. He himself possessed all Cæsar's papers, and, having gained his secretary, Faberius, could forge authority for anything he chose. Everything lay at his feet, and things which Cæsar had not dared to do, Antonius did in his name. By the sale of places, and even of provinces, he quickly amassed wealth, and proceeded to purchase senators and soldiers and tributary sovereigns, even his own colleague Dolabella. Thus supported, he coolly reversed the dictator's disposition of the provinces, depriving Brutus and Cassius of their promised governments, claiming Macedonia for himself, and giving Syria to Dolabella. 'The tyrant is dead,' murmured Cicero, 'but the tyranny still lives.' This was strictly true, and it might surely have been foreseen. The crime of the liberators had borne no fruits, and therefore was a blunder and a folly. Within a week Antonius had set himself up as a second tyrant hardly less powerful than the first. But another aspirant now enters upon the scene; a third tyrant, more powerful than either Cæsar or Antonius, but craftier and more fortunate, was about to seize the sovereignty, and establish the empire of Rome.

CHAPTER XLIX.

PROGRESS OF OCTAVIUS, THE HEIR OF JULIUS CÆSAR. THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE.

THE young Octavius, busy with his martial exercises among the legions at Apollonia, was surprised by the news of Cæsar's assassination. His mother's letters determined him to return to Rome, and before he started he received an assurance that the legions would support him. On landing in Apulia almost alone, he first learnt the contents of Cæsar's will, his own adoption and inheritance. He at once boldly assumed the name of Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus, and presented himself to the soldiers at Brundisium as the adopted son of the great imperator. He was received with acclamations; the friends of Cæsar began to flock around him, but the young adventurer wisely declined any display of force. In temperate language he addressed the senate, claiming, as a private citizen, the

inheritance of a deceased father. As he passed through Cumæ he visited Cicero, and gained his favourable opinion. At the end of April he entered Rome, and found that Antonius was absent from the city.

Despite the warnings of his mother, this youth of eighteen years presented himself before the prætor and claimed Cæsar's inheritance. He harangued the people, and pledged himself to discharge the sums bequeathed to them by his father.

Before the return of Antonius in May, Octavianus had made many friends and conciliated many enemies. In a friendly tone he reproached Antonius for leaving the assassins unpunished, and demanded of him Cæsar's treasures. The consul replied that none such existed; the money left had all been public treasure, and was already spent. Octavianus, undismayed by this failure of resources, proceeded to sell what remained of Cæsar's property, and all his own, borrowed of his friends, and at length amassed a sufficient sum to discharge the obligation he had assumed. The people were delighted by this generous sacrifice, and Antonius perceived with amazement that his youthful rival was not to be despised; but the influence he had already gained with the people was too strong to be shaken either by craft or violence.

Meanwhile the conduct of the liberators was timid and uncertain. Decimus had indeed repaired to his government in the Cisalpine; Cassius, on receiving a pressing invitation from the legions in Syria, yielded to Cicero's counsel, and, in defiance of the decree which had superseded him in favour of Dolabella, set out for his province. Brutus still lingered on the coast of Campania, and, only after long delay, nerved himself at last to the task of calling the patriots to arms in Greece and Macedonia. Cicero had actually embarked to join these conspirators in the East, but being driven ashore in Calabria by stress of weather, could not be persuaded to quit the soil of Italy, and turned his steps, with mournful presentiments, towards Rome. In the West Sextus Pompeius had appeared at the head of a powerful fleet on the coast of Gaul, and encouraged the rising hopes of the Republicans. In the city and in the senate Antonius still reigned supreme by force of arms, balanced only by the growing authority of Octavianus.

On September 1 the senate was convoked, and Cæsar's name was to be enrolled among the Roman divinities. An-

tonius seized the opportunity to attack Cicero, who had returned to Rome the day before, but was not then present, threatening to demolish his house on the Palatine. Next day, in the absence of Antonius, Cicero defended his own conduct both in leaving the city and in returning to it; and then turning to the administration of Antonius, he burst into an eloquent invective. He denounced the consul's arbitrary exercise of power, his venality, his hypocrisy, the falsehood by which he had sheltered his own unlawful deeds behind the pretended authority of the dead imperator. The senate listened with admiration, and their applause warmed the orator to renewed energy.

In this the first of Cicero's great orations against Antonius, known as the Philippics, in allusion to the harangues of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon, he confined himself to denouncing the policy of his enemy, and left his personal habits untouched. A few days later Antonius retorted upon Cicero with a violent tirade against the orator's entire career, accusing him of the murder of the Catilinarians, the assassination of Clodius, the rupture between Cæsar and Pompeius; denouncing him to the legions as the secret contriver of their hero's death. Cicero prudently kept out of the way of the armed guards of Antonius; he retired to his villa near Naples, and the two enemies, though they continued to wage this war of words, never saw each other alive again.

All this time Octavius was silently advancing his projects, and undermining Antonius' position. By promises and largesses he was seducing the soldiers from their allegiance. On October 3 the consul hurried off to Brundisium to stay the defection of his legions, which, he heard, had been tampered with. Octavius at the same time left the city to visit his parent's colonies in Campania, Umbria, and the Cisalpine, among which he collected 10,000 men. He also made strenuous efforts to gain Cicero, and through him the senate, whose sanction he required, to give legality to his enterprise. He loaded the pliant statesman with compliments and caresses, calling him his father, and promising docility and obedience.

Antonius, too, was acting with energy and decision; by a combination of severe punishments and liberal promises, he succeeded in reclaiming some, at least, of his wavering battalions. He then returned to Rome to denounce Octavius before

the senate for levying troops without authority, but only to find that two of his legions had just passed over to his rival. His position was becoming untenable. Sulla, Marius, Cæsar, Pompeius, every party leader, had in turn abandoned the city, where the senate was paramount, to recruit his forces in the field. Antonius had received from the senate the government of the Cisalpine, and he now summoned Decimus to withdraw from that province; but the Republican proconsul would only yield to force. Antonius then raised his standard at Tibur, and marched to Ariminum at the head of four legions; Lepidus was marching from Spain to join him with four more. Pollio, with four others, remained in Spain, and Plancus, with an equal number, was in Farther Gaul. These were the forces on which it was thought Antonius might rely in his contest with the Republicans, but they were widely scattered. The loyalty of the soldiers was uncertain, that of their commanders still more so. Octavius had by this time collected five legions under his command at Arretium, and occupied an independent position, ready to side with either party, or to fall upon the victor. Many citizens supported his pretensions, and the senate itself accepted him as their champion.

Such was the complication of affairs in the month of November. Cicero meanwhile was working with feverish anxiety to unite all parties against Antonius. He exhorted Decimus; he caressed Octavius; he watched eagerly for the action of Brutus and Cassius, Trebonius and Cimber in the East. In the West he trusted mainly to the loyalty of Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls elect. The moment had arrived for the publication of the second Philippic, already polished in private to the keenest edge of satire. It branded Cæsar as a traitor and a tyrant, Antonius as a monster. It directed the eyes of all to Cicero himself as the mainstay of the Commonwealth, and called on every citizen to arm. The effect was electrical. Both people and senate repudiated and defied the iniquitous usurper. The consuls elect were confirmed in their loyalty to the Republic by the outburst of public feeling. Cicero, elated by the applause which echoed around him, felt himself for the moment the chief of the Commonwealth, and enjoyed the noblest triumph of any Roman since the days of Africanus or Camillus.

Before the end of the year Antonius had confined Decimus within the walls of Mutina. The senate urged Octavius to

attack him; but it was not till the spring of the year 43 that he took the field in conjunction with Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls.

During their absence from the city, Cicero, though without an office, was allowed to take the helm of affairs. His eloquent harangues inspired all men with confidence and devotion. He filled the treasury with voluntary contributions from the loyal and fines levied on the disaffected. He maintained an active correspondence with the chiefs in the provinces, assuring each in turn of the constancy of all the others, and encouraging them with glowing accounts of the strength and resources of the party.

U.C. 711, B.C. 43.

Antonius was compelled to raise the siege of Mutina by the advance of Hirtius and Octavius. While pretending to negotiate with them, he suddenly turned upon Pansa, who was on his way to join them, defeated, and mortally wounded him. Hirtius saved the beaten force from utter rout, and a few days later, in conjunction with Octavius, inflicted a defeat on the Antonians. Hirtius lost his life in this engagement, and thus both consuls were stricken down. The senate and people at Rome, overjoyed by the victory, carried Cicero in triumph to the Capitol, and saluted him as the true victor of Mutina. The contest seemed to be at an end. Decimus was pursuing Antonius; Plancus was advancing to block the passes into Gaul; Brutus and Cassius in the East, and Sextus on the sea, all sent tidings of success.

Before he expired, the consul Pansa warned Octavius that the senate meditated treachery towards him, and advised him to be reconciled with Antonius. The crafty young schemer had already determined on that course. He quarrelled with Decimus as the murderer of his father Cæsar. He let Antonius know that he had no wish to crush him, and stood aside to allow him to effect a junction with Lepidus in the Transalpine. Plancus terminated his long indecision by casting in his lot with the stronger party, and thus Antonius found himself at the head of twenty-three legions.

This was the dreadful reality to which the senate now awoke from their dream of easy victory. They had thought to use Octavius as their tool, and then to cast him aside. He had asked for and been refused the consulship. He now crossed the Rubicon at the head of eight legions, and marched

on Rome to seize the prize by force. Some feeble attempts at defence were made, but one after another the senators and consulars slipped through the gates and went over to the intruder's camp. Cicero, alarmed for his safety, made his escape. On September 22 the people pretended to elect Octavius to the consulship, with his kinsman Pedius for colleague. Next day the audacious stripling completed his twentieth year. The first act of the new consul was to summon the murderers of Cæsar before his tribunal. Judgment passed against them by default, and they were interdicted fire and water.

Octavius was now in a position to make terms with Antonius on a footing of equality. Placed between two such powers, and deserted by Plancus, Decimus was lost. His troops deserted from him wholesale. He tried to escape into Macedonia, but was captured and put to death by Antonius. The blood of the assassin cemented the union between the Cæsarian leaders. Towards the end of October, Antonius, Lepidus, and Octavius met near Bononia to share their conquests between them. It was agreed, after three days' parley, that Octavius should resign the office of consul, while, under the title of a triumvirate for the establishment of the Commonwealth, the three chiefs should reign together over the city, the consuls, and the laws. They claimed absolute authority irrespective of senate or people, together with the power of appointing to all the magistracies. The provinces were partitioned as follows: Italy was to be held in common by all three; the two Gauls fell to Antonius; Africa and the islands fell to Octavius. These two, with twenty legions each, were to carry on the war, while Lepidus, with Spain and the Narbonensis for his province, was to control the empire from Rome in the interest of all three. The troops were satisfied with the promise of largesses and estates, and insisted that Octavius should espouse a daughter of Fulvia, wife of Antonius, as a ratification of the compact.

The triumvirs now sent an order to Pedius to slay seventeen of their principal adversaries. The order was promptly executed, but Pedius died from horror and disgust at being made the instrument of such a slaughter. The triumvirs then marched into the city, and occupied the temples and towers with their troops under arms. On November 27 the triumvirate was proclaimed. Before quitting Rome to combat the

murderers of Cæsar in the East, the triumvirs determined to leave no enemies behind them. A formal but limited proscription was decreed. Each picked out the names of the victims he personally required, and each purchased the right to proscribe a kinsman of his colleagues by surrendering one of his own. The list was headed with the names of a brother of Lepidus, an uncle of Antonius, and a cousin of Octavius. Centurions and soldiers were sent in quest of the doomed men, and a good many probably perished without warrant. The heads of the proscribed were affixed to the rostra, but the triumvirs did not always pause to identify them.

On the other hand, many of the proscribed escaped; some to Macedonia, some to the fleet of Sextus Pompeius. Cicero himself was not overtaken till a month later. On the first news of the proscription, Cicero took refuge with his brother in an island near Antium, and even made good his escape to sea; but instead of proceeding in all haste to Macedonia, he twice disembarked, and at length retired to his villa near Formiæ. The danger of delay was imminent; his slaves placed him in a litter and hurried him towards the shore; but the opportunity had been lost. He was pursued and overtaken by the assassins. Cicero's party was the more numerous, and would have drawn in his defence, but he forbade them. The litter was set down, and, fixing his eyes upon his murderers, Cicero offered his outstretched neck to the sword. The head was severed from the body and carried to Rome, where Antonius set it up with exultation in front of the rostra. Fulvia, it is said, pierced the tongue with her needle, in revenge for the sarcasms it had uttered against both her husbands.

Amid such scenes of horror the year came to a close. On January 1, 42, Lepidus and Plancus became consuls. In spite of the general mourning and dismay, they insisted on celebrating the commencement of their reign with public festivities. Both of them claimed and held a triumph for victories unknown to history. 'The consuls triumph,' said the soldiers, 'not over the Gauls but over the Germans!' Each of them had in fact sacrificed a brother in the proscriptions. The massacres had now ended, but funds were needed, and a period of confiscation, forced loans, and heavy requisitions, ensued.

The citizens were made to swear obedience to all Cæsar's laws, and to accord him divine honours. Octavius undertook

to drive Sextus out of Sicily, but found the straits too strongly guarded by his piratical fleet. Antonius crossed without delay to the coast of Epirus.

CHAPTER L.

BATTLE OF PHILIPPI. THE EMPIRE DIVIDED BETWEEN ANTONIUS AND OCTAVIUS.

THE Greeks took little interest in the political struggles of their Roman masters, though they had a traditional preference for republican forms. Athens, the capital, the head-quarters of philosophy, was a sort of university, frequented by aspiring youths of every nation. Among these was the genial satirist known to us as the poet Horace.

Brutus, the philosopher, on presenting himself at Athens and claiming the government of the province, met with a hearty reception and ready support. The Pompeian veterans, scattered through the country since Pharsalia, flocked about him; the arsenals, the revenues, the forces of the province were placed at his disposal; and in the army which he proceeded to organise, many of the Roman students at Athens received commissions: among them the young poet Horace was made a tribune. The neighbouring kings and rulers sided with the new governor, who soon overpowered the partisans of the triumvirs.

Cassius, who, since the Parthian campaign of Crassus, enjoyed a high reputation in the East, had established himself with equal success in his province of Syria. It seems strange that these two Republican leaders, with ample forces at their disposal, made no effort to resist the usurpation of the triumvirs in Italy. Probably both of them were very much in the hands of their soldiery, who preferred marauding expeditions against weak and wealthy enemies such as Rhodians and Lycians, to severe fighting against well-trained legions as poor as themselves. Both Brutus and Cassius did in fact devote themselves mainly to extracting booty from the regions subject to their sway.

Laden with the plunder of Asia, the armies were about to

pass over into Macedonia. It is related that Brutus, while watching in his tent one night, beheld standing before him a terrible phantom, which on being questioned replied, 'I am thy evil demon; thou shalt see me again at Philippi.' The Epicurean Cassius made light of the apparition. With 30,000 foot and 20,000 horse, well-appointed troops, he had no misgivings. The triumvirs meanwhile were advancing across Macedonia with a still more numerous host, but owing to their weakness at sea they were but ill-supplied. The two armies came face to face about twelve miles east of Philippi. Antonius was opposed to Cassius next the sea; Octavius fronted Brutus more inland. Cassius, aware of his enemy's shortness of supplies, tried to restrain the impatience of his colleague, but in vain. On the day of battle Octavius was ill; his division was overthrown by that of Brutus, and he was carried off in the midst of his retreating army. But Antonius had inflicted an equal defeat on Cassius, and the latter, ignorant of his colleague's success, thought the cause lost, and slew himself in despair.

U.C. 712, B.C. 42.

The effect of this fatal deed was disastrous. Cassius, accustomed to command, had exercised some control over the soldiers; but the mild student who survived was powerless to do so. Despite his lavish largesses and easy discipline, numbers of them deserted his standards. Still the army of the triumvirs, straitened for provisions, was in little better condition, and could Brutus have refrained from fighting, he might have won a bloodless victory. Instead, he renewed the battle of Philippi, after an interval of twenty days, on the same ground. This time the Cæsarians broke the ranks of their opponents and assailed them in their camp. Next day Brutus found that his reserve of four legions refused to fight, and he had no resource but to follow the example of Cassius and commit suicide.

Antonius and Octavius were now completely successful, and many important opponents of their policy fell into their hands, on whom they did not scruple to wreak a cruel vengeance. Octavius in particular is said to have shown himself most implacable on this occasion. Some portion of the beaten army escaped with the fleet to reinforce the armament of Sextus Pompeius.

The victors now made a fresh partition of the empire, Octavius taking Spain and Numidia, Antonius Gaul beyond

the Alps and Illyricum. The Cisalpine was for the first time combined with Italy itself, and the whole peninsula they held in common. Lepidus was contemptuously excluded from all share of the empire, but was afterwards allowed to take the small province of Africa.

Octavius, still suffering in health, returned to Italy. Antonius remained in the East, where his own licentious nature was encouraged by the dissolute habits of the people. Forgetting the claims of his soldiers, he lavished his wealth upon himself and his parasites. Coarse and easy tempered, he loved flattery if seasoned with wit. He had seen and admired Cleopatra in Cæsar's train, and, having reached Cilicia, he summoned her to appear before him to answer for having sided with Cassius in the recent contest. Cleopatra, confident in her ready wit and personal charms, sailed up the Cydnus to Tarsus in a gilded vessel, with purple sails and silver oars, to the sound of flutes and pipes. She assumed the character of Venus, and Antonius that of Bacchus. The two divinities held their gorgeous revels on board, and it was an easy matter for the wily Egyptian to gain the mastery over the rude soldier. Antonius cast away all thought of domestic claims and schemes of empire, and retired with her to Alexandria, to lose the world in her arms.

Early in the year B.C. 41, Octavius arrived in Italy charged with the invidious task of settling the Cæsarian veterans on the lands of the native proprietors. Fulvia, daring and ambitious, was virtually ruling the state through her influence over the consuls. She resented the appearance of Octavius on the scene, and, hoping to win back her husband from his Egyptian charmer by stirring up troubles in Italy, she encouraged the Italians to resist the assignment of their lands to the veterans. A short civil war ensued, but Agrippa, the best friend and ablest officer of Octavius, shut up the malcontents in Perusia, and reduced them to capitulate by stress of famine.

The news of Octavius' growing ascendency in Italy, together with an attack of the Parthians on Syria, at length aroused Antonius from his dream of pleasure. Despatching his lieutenant Ventidius to repel the Parthians, he started himself for Italy with some legions and a powerful fleet. At Athens he met his wife Fulvia, who upbraided him for his desertion of her; but he retorted bitterly upon her, and she soon after died

broken-hearted. Passing thence to the shores of the Adriatic, he made a compact with Sextus Pompeius, who transported him across the straits, and together they proceeded to plunder the south-eastern coasts of Italy. Sextus had been so long an exile from Rome that he was looked upon as no better than a foreigner or barbarian; and the man who in company with such an ally assailed the sacred soil of Italy, was justly regarded as an invader. When therefore Octavius drew the sword to resist his advance, the people hailed him as the champion of their hearths and their gods. For the moment, however, the soldiers were stronger than the people. They compelled their chiefs to treat, and with the help of Cocceius Nerva, Pollio, and Mæcenas, a new partition was arranged. Antonius received the whole eastern half of the empire from the Adriatic to the Euphrates. Octavius took the entire west, and Africa was abandoned to Lepidus. The peace was cemented by the marriage of Antonius, now a widower, with Octavia, the sister of the young Cæsar; and the rivals, outwardly reconciled, hastened to Rome to celebrate their alliance with games and festivities.

Octavius, to whom the government of Rome now fell by right, controlled the mutinous disposition of the soldiers, and tranquillised the people by regular distributions of grain. He had already repudiated Claudia, the daughter of Fulvia, whom he married to satisfy the soldiers, and he now wedded Scribonia, a relative of Sextus Pompeius. This led to a reconciliation with the wild sea rover. Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica were assigned to him as his share of the empire; and he was charged to clear the sea of pirates, as his father had done. The three chiefs banqueted together, not on land, where the imperators might be too powerful, nor at sea, where the pirate chief could make himself master of his guests, but on board a vessel moored within the harbour. Mænas, an officer of Sextus, proposed to cut the cable and carry them out to sea; but Sextus forbade it, muttering that Mænas should have done the deed, but not have asked leave to do it. Sextus still cherished some hopes of empire, and alone among the Romans based his hopes on maritime ascendency. Surrounded by foreign adventurers, he had forgotten the habits—even, it is said, the speech—of a Roman. He affected to be the son of Neptune, and pretented to the honours of a demigod.

The ill-assorted alliance did not long continue. Octavius repudiated Scribonia, in order to espouse Livia, whom he forced from her husband, Tiberius Nero. Sextus was the first to arm, and Antonius, at the instance of his consort Octavia, assisted Octavius against him with a fleet of 130 galleys, in return for which he demanded 20,000 legionaries for the war he was preparing against Parthia.

Antonius then rejoined Cleopatra in the East, sending his wife home to her brother's care. Mænas proved a traitor to his own master, and with his aid Octavius soon recovered Sardinia and Corsica; but his attempts at naval warfare were unsuccessful till the command was taken by the valiant and prudent Agrippa.

On January 1, 37, M. Vipsanius Agrippa became consul, and set himself to the task of wresting the command of the seas from Sextus. Like the old heroes of Rome in their wars against Carthage, he had to begin by creating a navy. U.C. 717, B.C. 37. For this purpose a commodious harbour was needed on the southern coast of Italy, and this he obtained by uniting the lakes Avernus and Lucrinus, near Naples, and admitting the waters of the sea to them. The artificial port thus produced he named Portus Julius, in honour of his master. Here he prepared his galleys and exercised his seamen, and in the ensuing spring he attacked Sicily at its three salient angles. Octavius in person conducted the assault on Messana, but was more than once repulsed; Lepidus gave but little assistance. At last Agrippa completely defeated Sextus in the great sea-fight at Naulochus, and the latter collected his treasures and abandoned Sicily for the East. Antonius, however, would not receive him, but finally crushed him in another great naval battle. Lepidus ventured to match himself against Octavius in Sicily, but was quickly overcome. Octavius spared his life, and this most feeble scion of the great Æmilian house lingered on through more than twenty years of retirement at Circeii.

CHAPTER LI.

CONTEST FOR THE EMPIRE DECIDED AT ACTIUM. DEATH OF ANTONIUS. CONCLUSION OF THE PERIOD OF CIVIL WARS.

On the deposition of Lepidus, his conqueror commanded not less than 45 legions, 25,000 horsemen, and 37,000 light troops; besides a fleet of more than 500 galleys. But he had now to reckon with his own victorious soldiers, who demanded large rewards in lands and money. To satisfy these claims Octavius imposed severe exactions, especially on Sicily. On his return to Rome, the people, rejoicing in the abundance of corn which had followed on the clearance of the seas, received him triumphantly. The senate would have heaped honours upon him, but he accepted only the tribunician inviolability, an ovation, and a golden statue. He declined to take from Lepidus the pontificate.

Deeply impressed by the fate of Cæsar, Octavius was very watchful over the safety of his own life. Though in reality engaged upon the enterprise of raising himself above the laws, he took no step however daring without trying to secure for it the semblance of legality. Before re-entering the city he rendered an account of all his acts to the people, excused his proscriptions by the plea of stern necessity, and promised clemency for the future. He proceeded to restore their ancient prerogatives to the magistracies; and the wise administration of Mæcenas reconciled many enmities. Life and property were secured by the institution of a cohort of city guards. An active police scoured the whole peninsula, rooting out the bands of robbers, releasing many kidnapped freemen from the factories of the great proprietors, and restoring to their masters, or putting to death, multitudes of fugitive slaves who were at large.

About midsummer of the year 36, Antonius had assembled 100,000 men on the Euphrates to complete the conquest of the Parthians. Cleopatra joined him on his way, but he sent her back to Egypt, promising soon to return to her there. The season was now so far advanced that he had to march in great haste, and on reaching Praaspa, 300 miles beyond the Tigris, he found that the engines needed for a siege

U.C. 718, B.C. 36.

had fallen far into the rear. He tried to reduce the city by blockade, but found his own supplies cut off by the Parthian horsemen, and was soon obliged to beat a hasty retreat. The severe winter of that elevated region was imminent, and his legions suffered intense hardships during a march of twenty-seven days. Antonius hurried his weary soldiers, with great loss and suffering, back to Syria, where Cleopatra met him, and with her he returned unabashed to Alexandria.

The imperator chose to represent this shameful retreat as a victory, and Octavius humoured his conceit, and so maintained a cordial understanding with him. Octavia, however, determined to make an effort to wean her husband from the fatal influence which enthralled him. She set out for the East, carrying with her magnificent presents, clothing for his soldiers, beasts of burden, money, equipments, and a body-guard of 2,000 picked men splendidly arrayed. At Athens she received a command from her husband to advance no further, and she had no choice but to return with dignity to Rome. In the following year he made an inroad into Armenia, carried off king Artavasdes in gilded chains to Alexandria, and, to the disgust of all Roman citizens, celebrated a triumph in the streets of his foreign capital. U.C. 720, B.C. 34.

The Egyptian court now plunged into the grossest debauchery, the queen leading the way, and contriving a succession of new pleasures for the Roman voluptuary. If she would retain her seat upon the throne of the Ptolemies, she must keep her lover constantly amused. If she could succeed in converting him into an Oriental despot, she might yet hope to rule supreme upon the Capitol. All her talents, which were of the most varied kind, were called into requisition, as well as the lighter artifices of her sex. Painters and sculptors grouped the illustrious pair together, and the coins of the kingdom bore the effigies and titles of both. Masques and revels followed in quick succession, and the princely lovers assumed the characters of Isis and Osiris.

The rumours of these orgies caused much resentment at Rome, where Octavius was advancing in popularity, and beginning to fill the space in the public eye left vacant by Cæsar's death. His manners were affable, his concern for the public weal unwearied. After the reduction of Sicily, he had established a mild but firm govern- U.C. 721, B.C. 33.

ment at Rome. He had then encountered with success some of the rudest tribes among the Alpine passes, in Dalmatia, Illyria, and the remote Pannonia. At the end of three campaigns, in one of which he obtained the distinction of an honourable wound, the senate decreed him a triumph, but he deferred its celebration. Already at the beginning of 33, the rivals had entered upon angry recriminations, Antonius objecting that he had not received his share of troops and provinces on the deprivation of Lepidus, while Octavius retorted by charging him with the murder of Sextus, the capture of Artavasdes, an ally of the republic; above all, with his scandalous connection with the Egyptian queen, and his acknowledging her child Cæsario as a genuine son of the dictator. Antonius, who had been preparing an expedition against the Parthians, suddenly changed the destination of his legions to Ephesus. Thither his officers were directed to bring numerous fresh battalions levied throughout Greece, Africa, and Asia. Thither, too, he summoned the barbarian chiefs from the Caspian to the Syrtis to assemble with their hosts of auxiliaries. Cleopatra contributed not only a contingent of troops, but a squadron of the most powerful galleys ever launched upon the Mediterranean. The object of all these preparations was not avowed. Antonius pretended to be absorbed in frivolities. He passed the winter at Samos, lavishing his resources upon a splendid Dionysian festival, and the new Bacchus repeated his former extravagances while the empire of the world was trembling in the balance.

During the year 32, the consuls were Domitius Ahenobarbus and Sosius, both nominees of Antonius; but their influence was counterbalanced by the defection of some important partisans from his cause. Plancus returned from the East, charged with the testament of Antonius, which he was to deposit in the custody of the Vestal virgins. This document he betrayed to Octavius. The senate learnt with horror that the renegade triumvir had recognised Cæsario as the legitimate heir of Cæsar, that he had distributed crowns and provinces among his own bastards, and directed his own body to be entombed with Cleopatra's in the mausoleum of the Ptolemies. No one could any longer doubt the truth of the rumours which asserted that he had pledged himself to subject Rome to the caprices of the queen of Egypt, to remove to Alexandria the seat of empire, to prostrate the gods of the Capitol before the monsters of the

Nile. All eyes were turned upon Octavius as the designated saviour of the nation and of its faith. He refrained, however, as yet from declaring Antonius a public enemy, and contented himself with proclaiming war against Egypt. With the sanction of the senate he assumed the consulship, with Messala for his colleague, at the beginning of the year 31. U.C. 723, B.C. 31. At such a crisis the legitimate office was more effective, as it had always been more popular, than any extraordinary commission.

To the remonstrances of his own friends, who urged him to dismiss Cleopatra, Antonius replied by divorcing his legitimate wife. Preparations for war were pushed forward on both sides. The forces of Antonius numbered 100,000 infantry and 12,000 horse. He was supported by many kings and potentates of the East. His fleet counted 500 galleys, some of which had eight and even ten banks of oars.

The infantry of Octavius was less by 20,000, his cavalry about equal, and his fleet, commanded by the skilful Agrippa, comprised no more than 150 ships, slighter but more manageable than those of his enemy. Finding the straits unguarded, Octavius carried his troops over into Epirus, and from that moment defection began both among the Roman and barbarian leaders on the other side. Antonius thought himself surrounded by traitors, and required Cleopatra herself to taste all the viands set before him.

Both on land and at sea the Western power began to assert its superiority in the preliminary encounter. The two armies had been gradually concentrated on the shores of the Ambracian gulf, which was occupied by the fleet of Antonius. Here Antonius challenged his rival to decide the contest by single combat, but received a contemptuous refusal. He began to despair of victory, and to meditate an inglorious escape by sea to Egypt, leaving his army to retreat as best it might into Asia.

At length on September 2, at midday, with a light favouring breeze, the huge galleys of the Oriental fleet sailed forth into the open sea. Too unwieldy for attack, they were provided with ponderous defences, and the light vessels of Octavius could make but little direct impression on them. U.C. 723, B.C. 31. The Liburnian triremes, however, were manœuvred with activity and intelligence. They rowed round and round

their unwieldy adversaries, sweeping away their banks of oars, distracting their defenders with flights of arrows, and at last applying fire to the crippled monsters. In the midst of the flight Cleopatra's galley hoisted its sails, threaded the maze of combatants, and stood away for Egypt. Antonius leapt into a boat, and hurried after her in disgraceful flight. The rage and shame of his adherents filled them with despair; yet they maintained the contest with determination, till, one by one, their huge vessels took fire and burnt to the water's edge. Three hundred galleys were captured.

The army on shore for some time refused to believe in the faint-hearted conduct of its chief; and it was not till Canidius, the general in command, passed over to Octavius' quarters that the gallant legions could be induced to make their submission.

On the point of land, the *acté*, which overlooked the scene of the battle, stood a little chapel of Apollo, known as the Actium. From this place the great sea fight, which decided the fate of Rome and of the world, derived its name; and on this spot Octavius instituted the festival of the Actian games, which was celebrated every five years for many generations.

The conqueror had nothing now to fear from Cleopatra and her minion; he could allow their punishment to bide its time. Mæcenas had been left to govern Rome; and Agrippa was now despatched to pacify Italy, which was still disturbed, while Octavius visited Greece, and received a glad welcome from its people. Thence he passed on to Asia, where provinces and dependent kingdoms promptly submitted to him. During the winter he visited Rome for a few days, and was escorted from Brundisium by a crowd of citizens, knights, and senators. Once more he was forced to sell his own property and that of his nearest friends to satisfy the claims of his veterans; and, promising an ample largess out of the spoils of Egypt, he started in the spring to complete his victory over the fugitives.

The news of Antonius' defeat at Actium, and of the submission of his land army, had preceded him to Egypt; and on his arrival there he found his authority renounced by the Roman legions. He was hardly restrained from suicide; but on rejoining Cleopatra at Alexandria he found her preparing with masculine activity to defend herself. One after another, however, her allies fell away from her, and then she conceived the idea of fleeing with her treasures to the utmost parts of

Arabia. Some of her ships were even dragged across the Isthmus of Suez to the Red Sea, but were there destroyed by the Arabs. The project had to be abandoned, as was also the still wilder scheme of taking flight to Spain and raising that turbulent province against the heir of Cæsar. After an interval of sullen isolation, Antonius returned to his mistress, and plunged with her into reckless orgies till the time should come for both to die.

Meantime both the one and the other pleaded for mercy separately from the victor. Antonius received no reply; Cleopatra was encouraged to hope for favour if she would rid the world of Antonius. Octavius was resolved to make her kingdom his own, but he wished to exhibit her alive at his triumph, and he was most anxious to possess himself of the treasures of the Ptolemies, which she had it in her power to secrete or destroy. His agents suggested to her that Octavius was young and might yield to the power of her charms; and in the hope of a last conquest she determined to betray her paramour. As the conqueror approached, Antonius, encouraged by some success in a cavalry skirmish, prepared to strike one blow for empire, but at that moment both his navy and his troops, seduced by the queen's artifices, deserted him. He was at the same time falsely informed that she had committed suicide. All was now over with Antonius, and he inflicted upon himself a mortal wound; but before he died, the queen caused him to be conveyed to the tower in which she had taken refuge, and he expired in her arms.

Octavius' first care on entering Alexandria was to secure the queen alive. This was accomplished with some difficulty; she returned to the palace, resumed her state, and prepared to receive the visit of Octavius. Much depended for her on her success in this interview, and she used every artifice to excite the pity if not the love of her young conqueror. Octavius fixed his eyes coldly on the ground, asked for a list of her treasures, and bidding her be of good courage, quitted her. Cleopatra was dismayed at her failure; but on learning that she was certainly to be removed to Rome, she made up her mind to die. She retired to the tower of her mausoleum, where lay the body of Antonius, and was next day found dead with her two women. The manner of her death was never certainly known, but at the triumph of Octavius a wax image of her was carried in the

procession, with the arms encircled by serpents, and this confirmed the popular rumour that she perished by the bite of an asp conveyed to her for the purpose in a basket of figs. Her child by Julius was cruelly put to death; the dynasty of the Ptolemies ceased to reign, and Egypt became a Roman province.

With the death of Antonius the period of civil wars and political strife comes to an end. The struggle so long maintained by the people against the nobles has ended in the submission of both parties alike to a supreme ruler. The hour has come, and with it has appeared the one man capable of using it for the establishment of a durable monarchy upon a firm foundation. Had Antonius triumphed at Actium, his profligate empire would have quickly fallen to pieces. The pre-eminent genius of Octavius is attested by the permanence of the edifice which he erected. The creations of his hand were rooted in the ancient ideas and habits of the people; they stood the test of time, unlike the fabrics of Sulla's and Cæsar's power, which quickly collapsed and perished. We must now examine the system adopted by the real founder of the Roman empire, which endured in its main features for more than two centuries, and continued to animate the governments of Rome and Constantinople down to the commencement of modern history, if indeed it can be said to be even yet extinguished.

CHAPTER LII.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE BY AUGUSTUS.

AFTER regulating his new province, Octavius made a progress through his Eastern dominions, rewarding his allies, and dispossessing his enemies. He passed the winter at Samos, wishing perhaps to allow more time for his proscriptions to be forgotten, before he returned in triumph to Rome. When at last he reached the city, in the middle of 29, he was welcomed with enthusiasm. He had now to choose whether he would be a citizen of the commonwealth or its ruler. The framework of the republican government still

U.C. 725, B.C. 29.

existed; both senate and people continued to exercise their prerogatives. Octavius himself professed only to wield a delegated authority. He had laid down the extraordinary powers of the triumvirate; it was as consul commissioned by the state that he conquered at Actium and subjugated Egypt. His acts in Greece and Asia awaited the confirmation of the senate. So moderate and loyal did he seem, that his popularity was unbounded.

As soon as the ceremony of his triple triumph was ended, Octavius ought by law to have disbanded his army, and laid down his command. This necessity he evaded, for the senate, eager to flatter and caress him, conferred upon him the title of Imperator, and allowed him to prefix it to his name, as Julius Cæsar had done, whereby he became permanent commander of the national forces. Every ordinary command ceased the moment the Imperator entered the city, but Octavius, as emperor, might wear the insignia of military power even within the city. This prerogative, indeed, he never exercised, and his example was followed by his successors. They generally relinquished even the formal title of imperator in their ordinary intercourse with their subjects, and were content to appear as princes or premiers of the citizens.

Having thus secured to himself the army, the instrument of substantial power, Octavius sought to disguise the real foundation of his authority by raising the estimation of the senate as the representative of the national will. Julius Cæsar first, and after him the triumvirs, and especially Antonius, had degraded the senate by swelling its numbers to a thousand, and thrusting into it foreigners and men of low condition. Octavius now assumed the powers of the censorship, by virtue of which he ejected from the senate many who were unworthy to sit in so august an assembly, reducing the number to six hundred, and requiring strictly a property qualification.

Upon the senate thus remodelled, Octavius conferred additional dignity by placing himself at its head as Princeps, the most honourable of all republican titles, and one which had always been held for life. The military command he soon offered to resign, and, after a long affectation of resistance, accepted it only for a term of ten years, but it was afterwards repeatedly renewed to him. The powers both of the consul and of the censor, but without the titles, were in like manner

renewed to him from time to time, and by virtue of them he occupied the highest place in the city, and was recognised as the chief of the state, the head of both its legislative and executive departments, the organ of its foreign relations. The Romans had been wont to say that their consul was, in fact, a king, checked by the presence of a colleague, and by the limited term of his office. Octavius, however, holding his authority for life, and sitting paramount above the titular consuls, reigned under the forms of a republic as real king of the Romans. In addition to these powers Octavius claimed proconsular authority over the whole empire. As imperator he had shared with the senate the administration of the provinces, choosing for his own those in which large armies were maintained; he still generally allowed the senate to appoint the governors of the districts assigned to it, but even in these he now claimed an authority paramount to theirs. The prerogative of the emperor was completed by the acquisition of the powers of the tribunate, which were conferred on him in perpetuity. The chief value of this power lay in the popularity of its name. The people, long accustomed to look upon the tribunes as the champions of their liberties, could not imagine that they were really the slaves of one who held that title. When Octavius, after the death of Lepidus, assumed the dignity of sovereign pontiff, he combined in his single hand the most invidious instruments of patrician tyranny and plebeian independence.

Nevertheless, while Octavius thus amassed one prerogative after another, he discreetly avoided drawing attention to his really sovereign power by the assumption of any distinctive title. Antonius had formally abolished the dictatorship. No voice was allowed to hail the new Cæsar as 'king.' Yet the need was felt of some distinguishing name to express the new power which had arisen. Various titles were discussed between the emperor and his friends, and at length the epithet 'Augustus,' hitherto applied only to the temples and services of the gods, was proposed and determined on. The worship of Octavius as a god was spreading tacitly in the provinces, though as yet forbidden in Italy; the name of Augustus gave a fresh impulse to the sentiment of adulation which already possessed the people.

The question has often been discussed whether or no Julius Cæsar had formed any definite scheme for the constitution of

the Roman empire. It may well be that, had his life been prolonged, he might have moulded the whole mass of the citizens and subjects of Rome into one body politic under his own autocratic rule. Judging from his treatment of the Gauls both in Italy and beyond the Alps, it seems certain that his policy would have been to break down the barriers which divided citizens from subjects, and to fuse all the various races which peopled the Roman empire into one vast nation on the basis of equal rights, with one language and one law for all alike. The conquests of Alexander, with the consequent wide diffusion of the Greek tongue, had familiarised the world with this idea in practice, and the speculations of every school of philosophy encouraged mankind to look forward with longing to such a consummation, as the greatest blessing that could be conferred upon the human race. The Epicurean philosophy and the popular traditions inherited by Julius Cæsar both inclined him to favour such ideas, which, to an old-fashioned Roman, must have seemed nothing short of revolutionary.

The policy of Augustus was on this point, as on most others, diametrically opposed to that of his great uncle. Julius had fallen just as the throne had been attained; Augustus, ever studious to avoid a like fate, marked his uncle's footsteps only to avoid them. Julius had openly, and without extenuation, grasped at kingly power; his nephew strove by every means to disguise the reality of his own kingship behind the mask of republican forms. Julius had aspired to mould mankind into one great nation, and had thereby alienated the old national party in Rome. Augustus steadily opposed these subversive notions. Resisting all the pressure brought to bear upon him, he stoutly maintained that the Romans were a peculiar people, the born sovereigns of mankind, the conquerors and rulers of the world. This statement, however, must be understood with discrimination. Augustus, the child of the popular party, could not altogether repudiate the doctrines as the representative of which he had risen to power; he, too, extended the Roman franchise to the provincials, but always in a cautious and temperate manner, taking care to give due effect to the opposing doctrine which asserted the privileged character of the Roman people. The exact colour of his system, which had shifted its hues during his early career, seems to have been definitely fixed from the day when, arrayed against the foreign

forces of his rival Antonius, he came forth at the head of the senate, the people, and the gods of Rome, as the champion of the whole nation, without respect to class or party.

The extension of the Roman franchise was by no means the only matter concerning which a conflict of ideas was in progress. Roman prætors and proconsuls had carried the Roman law into every province of the empire, but they had also been compelled to take account of the usages and principles of jurisprudence already established among the conquered races, many of which were more in harmony than the hard old laws of Rome with the advancing cultivation and humanity of the age. These foreign principles of law were gradually asserting themselves, and forcing their way even into the Roman Forum. There arose two schools of Roman lawyers, the conservative and the liberal. It has been already stated that Julius contemplated a codification of Roman law, and it is probable that he aimed at a large modification of the old laws of the republic, so as to bring them into harmony with the more liberal jurisprudence of other countries. Augustus threw his weight into the opposite scale, and strove to preserve the ancient laws as little changed as possible.

In the realm of religion the conflict of ideas was the hottest of all. For two centuries Rome had in vain attempted to maintain her old mythology and ritual in face of the new ideas which crowded in upon her from foreign parts. Now Greeks, Egyptians, Syrians, even Jews, as subjects of the empire, demanded the recognition and free exercise of their religious creeds and usages. The metropolis of the world had become the common receptacle of all existing beliefs and ceremonials. Here, too, Augustus exerted all his force to sustain and revive the old national traditions. For his own part he seems to have been devoid of all belief in any of the speculative systems current in his time, and derided the ideologists who were not content, as he was himself, with taking the material world as he found it, and putting it to its practical uses. But he perceived the danger of leaving the multitude to be tossed to and fro by a constant succession of new and exciting blasts of doctrine on such a subject. Augustus was engaged in constructing a fixed and enduring order of affairs. Accordingly he repaired the crumbling temples, revived the priesthoods, and renewed the ancient ceremonials. The Fasti of the court

poet, Ovid, were, in fact, a calendar of the ritual of the year. The Romans were given to understand that their new chief, who had once saved their country from conquest, and their gods from desecration, had now placed the one under the protection of the other, and bound them together by a pledge of mutual recognition.

The policy of Augustus was on all sides essentially reactionary. Yet we need not suppose that he was blind to the force of circumstances prevailing around him, or that he expected ultimately to arrest the progress of ideas. It was enough for him if he could divert or moderate them; enough, at least, if he could persuade his countrymen that he was doing more than anyone else could do to maintain their empire on the stable foundations of the ancient ways. It is just possible that a man of greater genius and boldness might have moulded his opportunity to a higher issue by guiding the revolutionary forces which he strove merely to restrain. But we must acknowledge how grand was the result which, following his own temper, and the bent of his own character, he did actually effect. The establishment of the Roman empire was, after all, the greatest political work that any human being ever wrought. The achievement of Alexander, of Cæsar, of Charlemagne, of Napoleon, is not to be compared with it for a moment.

The name of Julius Cæsar was the watchword of the veterans who conquered under his nephew, and it continued dear to the mass of the citizens, as that of the man who had crushed the oligarchy and avenged the Sullan massacres. Yet the great writers of the Augustan age reflect but little of this enthusiasm. Virgil and Horace have no panegyrics for the elder Cæsar. We need not attribute this silence to any unworthy jealousy on the part of Augustus of the memory of his great predecessor. It was the result of political design. As soon as the rivalry of Antonius was crushed, the attitude of Augustus towards the aristocracy completely changed, and he thenceforth devoted to its interests all the powers he had received from the triumphant democracy. The nobles could not long refuse their support to a conqueror who carried out their own ideas of conservatism and reaction, who promoted the son of Cicero and the friend of Brutus to the highest offices, and who offered to themselves, without reserve, careers of honourable and lucrative employment. At the same time the lower

classes were tranquillised and amused by shows and largesses, and relieved from the burthen of military service. Citizens of all ranks were set at ease by the cessation of political proscriptions, flattered by the assurance that their empire over the nations was completed and secured, comforted by the knowledge that the favour of the gods had been purchased, and the stability of the state ensured by the piety of the emperor.

The easy acquiescence of the Romans in a regal tyranny thus slightly disguised ceases to be surprising when we consider, firstly, the weariness engendered by a whole century of civil strife and bloodshed; and, secondly, the fact that the race of true old Roman citizens had to a great extent died out, and their places had been filled by a crowd of bastard citizens of miscellaneous origin. To such a mongrel nation royal rule could hardly imply degeneracy or decay. Had not Macedonia been glorious under Philip and Alexander? Had not Sparta and even Rome itself been conspicuous for heroism under a dynasty of kings? The Romans had ceased to value or understand free political life, but they could appreciate old customs, religious traditions, wise laws; and as they watched the revival or establishment of such institutions, they looked forward hopefully to a new career of growth and progress.

In his personal habits and demeanour Augustus carefully distinguished between the Imperator and the Princeps. He withdrew from the familiarity which Cæsar had used towards his legionaries, no longer addressing them as 'comrades,' but always as 'soldiers.' But in private life, amid all the magnificence which he encouraged on the part of his nobles, he himself was studiously simple and modest. His house on the Palatine was moderate in size and ornament. His dress was that of a plain senator, woven by the hands of Livia and her maidens in her own apartment. He traversed the streets as a private citizen, with no more than the ordinary retinue of slaves and clients, courteously addressing the acquaintances he encountered, taking them by the hand, or leaning on their shoulders, allowing himself to be summoned as a witness in their suits, and attending at their houses on occasions of domestic interest. At table he was sober and decorous; his guests were few in number, and chosen for the most part for their social qualities. Augustus was specially fortunate in the poets he attracted to his court and person. Horace taught his contemporaries to acquiesce in

the new *régime* securely and contentedly, while Virgil kindled their imaginations and shed over the empire of the Cæsars the halo of legendary antiquity. In the temples on days of public service, around their own hearths on every ordinary occasion, the Romans were taught to remember in their prayers the restorer of order, the creator of universal felicity, and to pour a libation for a blessing on themselves and on Cæsar the father of his country.

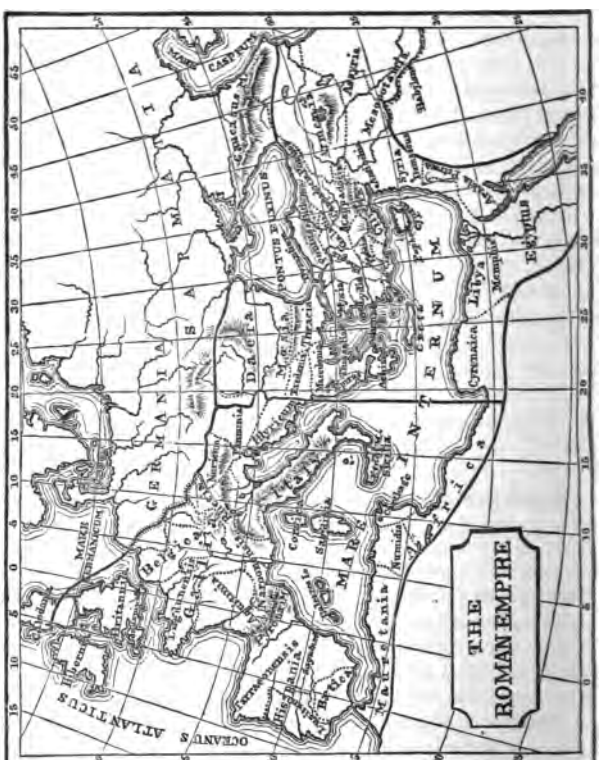
This title, the proudest any Roman could obtain, had long been bestowed by the citizens in private on their hero and patron, when at last the senate took up the voice of the nation, and conferred it upon him with due solemnity. The proposal was received and confirmed with eager acclamations, and Valerius Messala, one of the noblest of the order, was deputed to offer the title in the name of the senate and the people. 'Conscript fathers,' replied the emperor, 'my wishes are now fulfilled, my vows are accomplished. I have nothing more to ask of the Immortals, but that I may retain to my dying day the unanimous approval you now bestow upon me.'

CHAPTER LIII.

ORGANISATION AND CONDITION OF THE EMPIRE UNDER AUGUSTUS. MILITARY INCIDENTS OF HIS REIGN.

ITALY, which now extended from the Alps to the Straits of Messana, was divided into eleven regions, and governed by the prætor in the city. The rest of the empire was apportioned between the emperor and the senate. The imperial provinces were as follows: the Tarraconensis and Lusitania in Spain; Gaul beyond the Alps, including Upper and Lower Germany—the districts bordering upon the Rhine; Pannonia and Macedonia; Cœle Syria and Phœnicia; Cilicia, Cyprus, and Egypt. To the senate were assigned Bætica, Numidia, Africa, Cyrenaica, Achaia, Asia, and the great islands off the coast of Italy. Dalmatia and Illyricum, at first given to the senate, were soon afterwards taken by the emperor in exchange for the Narbonensis and Cyprus. Palestine was added by Augustus to

the empire, which then included every coast and island of the Mediterranean except Mauretania. Those parts of the empire such as Gaul, Pannonia, and Thrace, which extended hundreds of miles away from the inland sea, were little more than wild forests. The populous and civilised parts of the Roman



dominion, including all the great cities and centres of commerce, formed but a fringe along the shores of the Mediterranean.

The possession of this great central waterway was most favourable to the peaceful development of the empire. The

facility thus afforded for the interchange of commerce and of thought bound all the provinces together in the bonds of a common interest, and so secure was the peace which resulted from this cause that the Mediterranean provinces were left almost wholly without military garrisons. Italy, and Rome itself, were in like manner almost destitute of regular defenders, the emperor being content to confide his personal safety to a few cohorts of body-guards or prætorians. It was not till the reign of his successor that these troops were collected into a camp at the gates of the city. Their number never exceeded 10,000 or 20,000. The legions, which formed the standing army of the empire, were relegated to the frontiers or to turbulent provinces. Three legions occupied Spain; the banks of the Rhine were guarded by eight; two were quartered in Africa, two in Egypt; four were posted on the Euphrates and four on the Danube; and two were held in reserve in Dalmatia, whence, if required, they could easily be summoned to Rome. Each of these twenty-five legions mustered 6,100 foot and 720 horse; they were recruited for the most part among the subject races outside Italy, and the local auxiliaries attached to each legion, and armed and drilled after their native usage, about doubled the numbers of the force, raising the total of the imperial armies to 340,000 men. The Italians claimed exemption from legionary service and were enlisted only in the prætorian cohorts.

Augustus was the first to establish a regular and permanent navy, which he stationed under the supreme command of Agrippa at Misenum, Ravenna, and Forum Julii or Frejus in Gaul. These fleets kept the pirates in check, secured the free transmission of grain to the capital, and convoyed the ships which brought tribute in money from the East and the West.

The sources of public revenue were numerous and varied. The public domain had indeed for the most part lapsed into the hands of private proprietors. The land-tax had been remitted to the soil of Italy since the conquest of Macedonia, but was levied in every other part of the empire; no citizen or subject was free from the pressure of the poll-tax. Mines and quarries, fisheries and salt-works, were public property farmed for the state. Tolls and customs were levied on every road and in every city, and every sort of personal property, including slaves, paid an *ad valorem* duty. Augustus imposed a rate of one-

twentieth upon legacies, but this experiment caused considerable murmurs. Egypt and Africa paid a special contribution in grain for the supply of Italy and Rome, and the emperors found themselves obliged to keep up the old vicious practice of doles and largesses, whereby provincial industry was taxed to support idle arrogance at home. The empire under Augustus, bounded by the Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates, Mount Atlas, and the Atlantic Ocean, had almost reached the farthest limits that it ever permanently retained, though the conquest of Britain had yet to be undertaken. The population of this vast region is computed at about 100,000,000, and during the long period of peace and prosperity which ensued, it probably continued to increase for another century. The population of Rome may be roughly reckoned at 700,000, and though it long continued to increase, it does not seem to have ever much exceeded 1,000,000, a number which was probably approached, if not equalled, by the census both of Antioch and of Alexandria.

The new ruler set about embellishing his capital by the erection of temples and public buildings. In this he was seconded by his nobles, and especially by his friend Agrippa, who, having secured by his signal services in the field the second place in the commonwealth, loyally abstained from aiming at the first. In the year B.C. 23, when Augustus, prostrated by fever, seemed unlikely to recover, it was to Agrippa that he handed his ring, a hint, as it was deemed, that it was on him he would most desire that the empire should be conferred. To Agrippa he entrusted, on his recovery, an Eastern command which made him almost an equal and a possible rival to himself.

Augustus was further supported by the tact and prudence of C. Cilnius Mæcenas. This man had governed Italy for him during his struggle with Antonius, and long remained his chief adviser: to his suggestions the Romans ascribed the first outlines of the imperial system of government. The genial character of Mæcenas attracted to his side the best and ablest men of the day, and secured the favour of the literary class. At his table Virgil, Horace, Varius, and Pollio discussed, in the presence of Augustus, all the various schemes of philosophy and politics, and brought them to an amicable settlement.

The principal events of the reign of Augustus, which

extended over more than forty years, were of little mark, and may be shortly enumerated. His triple triumph in 29 over the Illyrians, the Egyptians at Actium, and Cleopatra herself, has been already mentioned. Peace being thus restored to the world, he solemnly closed the temple of Janus, a happy event of which the citizens could recall only two previous instances, and which deeply impressed them. An outbreak of the Cantabrian mountaineers in Spain compelled the emperor to take the field against them. Stricken by sickness, he quitted the camp and left his generals to complete their reduction. On the accomplishment of this conquest he closed Janus a second time. The Pax Romana, as it was proudly designated, did not however remain long without disturbance, either on the frontier or in the interior. Neither was the old spirit of Roman aggression yet wholly pacified. The proposal to retrieve the ill-success of Cæsar against Britain was indeed discussed, but prudently abandoned. In the year 24, the Roman greed of conquest and plunder was gratified by the despatch of an expedition under Ælius Gallus into the spice regions of southern Arabia. It returned with heavy loss and no advantage gained, and the mortification of Augustus at this failure was scarcely compensated by the success of Petronius in southern Egypt, and the tribute he exacted from the Ethiopian queen Candace.

U.C. 725, B.C. 29.

U.C. 729, B.C. 25.

U.C. 730, B.C. 24.

In the year 21, Augustus, who had just put down the abortive conspiracy of Murena, ventured to leave Rome on a long progress through his Eastern dominions. In Sicily he planted colonies at Syracuse and elsewhere. In Greece he bestowed special favours on Sparta, while he withdrew from Athens her lucrative privilege of selling her franchise. After wintering at Samos, he advanced through Asia to Syria, where he punished the people of Tyre and Sidon for their turbulence, and perhaps even as far as Palestine, where he seems to have granted some extension of territory to Herod, king of Judæa, The chief object of this proconsular tour was to recover the standards of Crassus from the Parthians. Tiberius Claudius advanced with an army into Armenia, and Phraates the Parthian at once conceded his demands. Contemporary medals represent him as doing homage at the feet of the emperor's representative and receiving the crown from his hands. The

long-lost trophies, the brazen eagles, cherished objects of the soldiers' devotion, were restored by Tiberius to his father, and by him transmitted to Rome, and suspended in the temple of
U.C. 734, B.C. 20. Mars the Avenger. They were greeted by the people with acclamations, and by the poets with pæans of triumph.

After receiving a renewal of his powers for a second term of five years in B.C. 18, Augustus determined to celebrate his restoration of the state by holding the secular games with solemn ceremony. They were supposed to be held every hundredth or hundred and tenth year of the republic, and the
U.C. 737, B.C. 17. Sibylline books, on being consulted, sanctioned the celebration. Heralds traversed the streets, inviting every citizen to attend upon a spectacle 'which none of them had ever seen, and none could ever see again.' The ceremonies were very simple. Sulphur, pitch, wheat, and barley were distributed. The Aventine, the Palatine, and the Capitoline were paraded by the multitude. Sacrifices were offered; the game of Troy was enacted; and the festival ended with the performance of a choral ode of praise and thanksgiving, probably the actual hymn included among Horace's poems as Carmen Sæculare.

In the year 15, the security of the empire was threatened by barbarian tribes along its whole northern frontier. On the Lower Rhine the legions had been defeated by the Germans with the loss of an eagle. The mountain tribes of Switzerland were menacing the Cisalpine. The Istrian peninsula was invaded by the Pannonians and Noricans. The Dalmatians were in revolt. Macedonia was ravaged by the Mœsians, and Thrace by the Sarmatians. Augustus himself travelled as far as Lugdunum in Gaul to inquire on the spot into the weakness
U.C. 739, B.C. 15. of the administration of that province. At the same time Drusus Claudius Nero, the emperor's younger stepson, overthrew the Rhætians among the Alps near Trent, and defeated the barbarous tribes in the valley of the Inn; while Tiberius followed the course of the Rhine as far up as the Lake of Constance and crushed the enemy in that quarter.

CHAPTER LIV.

THE IMPERIAL FAMILY. CAREERS OF TIBERIUS AND DRUSUS. INVASION OF GERMANY. DEATH OF AUGUSTUS.

WE are entering on the career of an imperial dynasty. The consuls and tribunes of the Roman commonwealth, though the titles and offices still survive, fall henceforth into a position of minor importance. The emperors indeed, from Augustus onwards, will commonly assume the title of consul, and invariably maintain their grasp on the tribunician power, dating the years of their reign by the intervals of its renewal. But those who are associated with them in these offices are overshadowed by the superior dignity and power of the imperial throne. On the other hand, the kindred of the emperor will occupy a prominent place in the state, for from among them the rulers of the world are to be chosen.

Octavia, the sister of Augustus, and wife of Antonius, had a son by a previous marriage named M. Marcellus, who, in default of sons to his uncle, was for some time the hope of the house. This youth gave high promise of ability, as we learn from the matchless praises bestowed upon him by Virgil, and to him Augustus gave for wife his only child Julia, the daughter of Scribonia. But Marcellus died in 23 at the age of twenty, leaving no offspring. Julia was soon remarried to M. Agrippa, and by him had several children, to one of whom the succession to the empire might be reasonably expected to fall. The two eldest sons, Caius and Lucius, grew up, and were advanced in the public service, but both of them were cut off in early life, the one in the year A.D. 4, the other in A.D. 7. A third son, Postumus, was pronounced by his grandfather unfit for public life, and was put aside if not murdered by his order. There were also two daughters, Julia, married to Æmilius Paulus, and Agrippina, the wife of Claudius Germanicus, of whom more remains to be told.

So few and obscure were the direct descendants of the great emperor, but he had attached another branch to the stem of his house by his last marriage with Livia Drusilla. This noted matron, the first woman who attained a public position

and became a real power in the state, had been married to Tiberius Claudius Nero, and had already borne him a son, Tiberius. In the year B.C. 38, Octavius, after divorcing Scribonia, snatched Livia from her husband and married her himself. A few months later she bore a second son, Drusus, of whom Octavius was reputed to be the father. Livia bore no more children, but maintained her dominion over the heart of her husband, and secured for her two sons the first place in his affections. Tiberius and Drusus were both men of ability, and proved worthy of the confidence placed in them. These two stepsons of the emperor first distinguished themselves in command against the Alpine mountaineers, and were afterwards entrusted with the more important task of combating the Germans and Pannonians.

Augustus required of both an entire devotion to his interests and those of the state, exposing them to the hardships of a prolonged warfare far from the pleasures of the capital. While Tiberius was sent to quell an insurrection in Pannonia, Drusus was charged with the administration of Gaul. He signalised his government of that disturbed province by raising an altar to Augustus at Lugdunum, thus confronting the influence of the Druids by the awful associations connected with the majesty of the emperor and the fortune of Rome.

The Rhine, defended by a chain of fortified posts, had long formed the frontier of the empire; but the impetuous youth who now commanded the legions in that quarter aspired to the conquest of Germany and the reduction of Central Europe to the same state of subjection as Gaul or Spain. Starting from the north-eastern frontier of Gaul, Drusus attacked the Usipetes and Sicambri in the country of the Lippe and the Lahn, the modern provinces of Westphalia and Nassau. His aim was to penetrate as far as the Weser, and the seats of the powerful Chauci and Cherusci, now known as Hanover and Detmold. With this object he despatched an expedition by sea to the mouths of the great rivers which fall into the German Ocean, so as to surprise the enemy in flank and rear. He easily drove the Germans before him by land, but his maritime armament was shattered by the waves and shallows, and he was forced to beat an inglorious retreat.

U.C. 742, B.C. 12.

In a second campaign the eagles were advanced as far as the Weser, but the Germans retired steadily, refusing to risk a

GERMANY.
MARE GERMANICUM
MARE SUEVICUM
Rhenus
Danubius
Hercynia Silva
Alpes
Rhætia
Vindelicia
Noricum
Pannonia
Germania
Gallia
Italia
Suevi Semnones
Burgundiones
Lygii Buri
Lygii Arii
Lygii Diani
Lygii Helisii
Lygii Manimi
Hermunduri
Marcomanni
Quadi
Marsigni
Gothini
Osi
Cotini
Anartes
Taurisci
Boii
Helvetii
Sequani
Leuci
Mediomatrici
Treviri
Nemetes
Vangiones
Triboci
Tribocorum Ager
Helvetiorum Agri
Decumates Agri
Limes imperii Roman
Transrhenanus
Augusta Vindelicorum
Colonia Agrippina
Castra Vetera
Mattium
Aquæ
Arae Flaviæ
Regina
Ratisbona
Lorium
Lentia
Carnuntum
Vindobona
Arbona
Brigantium
Tarodunum
Aventicum
Augusta Rauracorum
Argentoratum
Moguntiacum
Bingium
Confluentes
Bonna
Juliacum
Colonia Trajana
Vetera Castra
Asciburgium
Flevum
Lacus Flevo
Lacus Brigantinus
Lacus Venetus
Lacus Arbonensis
Lacus Constantiensis
Lacus Curiensis
Lacus Lucernensis
Lacus Tigurinus
Lacus Neocomensis
Lacus Verbanus
Lacus Larius
Lacus Benacus
Lacus Sebinus
Lacus Gardanus
Mons Abnoba
Mons Adulas
Mons Brenner
Mons Cenisius
Mons Jovis
Mons Julius
Mons Matrona
Mons Pœninus
Mons Taunus
Mons Vogesus
Mons Vosegus
Alpes Cottiæ
Alpes Graiæ
Alpes Maritimæ
Alpes Penninæ
Alpes Rhætiæ
Alpes Tridentinæ
Alpes Vindelicæ
Alpes Juliæ
Alpes Noricæ
Alpes Carnicæ
Alpes Pannonicæ
Alpes Dalmaticæ
Alpes Bastarnicæ
Alpes Transylvanicæ
Alpes Sarmaticæ
Alpes Hercynicæ
Alpes Rhenanæ
Alpes Helveticæ
Alpes Gallicæ
Alpes Italicæ
Alpes Germanicæ
Alpes Slavicæ
Alpes Illyricæ
Alpes Thraciæ
Alpes Macedonicæ
Alpes Græciæ
Alpes Asiaticæ
Alpes Africæ
Alpes Europæ
Alpes Asiæ
Alpes Africæ
Alpes Europæ
Alpes Asiæ

battle; and Drusus did not extricate himself without difficulty from his perilous position. An outpost was planted at Aliso, fifty miles east of the Rhine; and for his successes the emperor granted him the triumphal ensigns and the honour of an ovation, but refused him the title of imperator. Meanwhile the exploits of Tiberius against the Pannonians were deemed worthy of a similar recognition. Augustus had the satisfaction of exhibiting both his stepsons to the people in the character of national heroes. In the year 11 B.C. Tiberius was married to Julia, and about the same time Octavia died.

In the year 10 B.C. Augustus again visited Gaul, and yielding to the instances of Drusus, authorised another expedition beyond the Rhine. This time the Roman army penetrated through the country of the Chatti as far as the river Elbe. But the Cherusci still retired before them. Drusus became alarmed at the perils of his situation. Unfavourable omens were reported; and after erecting a trophy to mark their farthest point, the legions retreated, but before reaching the Rhine, the young conqueror was killed by a fall from his horse. Augustus conveyed the remains with ample honours to Rome, and himself pronounced an oration over the body when it was buried in his own mausoleum in the Campus Martius. The title of Germanicus, which had been conferred on the young hero, was allowed to descend to his son.

Tiberius, who had succeeded in consolidating the Roman power south of the Danube, was now sent to Gaul to complete his brother's conquests. His campaigns in the years 8 and 7 produced but little result, and he was soon withdrawn by the emperor to Rome, and made consul for a second time.

After the death of Agrippa in the year 12 and that of Drusus in the year 9, the hopes of the people and of Augustus became centred in Tiberius, but the union between him and Julia proving fruitless, the emperor began to look to her children by Agrippa for the future support of his power. At the time of Tiberius' recall, her two elder sons Caius and Lucius were about fourteen and ten years old respectively. Caius had already served his first campaign. But the conduct of Julia now became so scandalous that the emperor was constrained to banish her to an island. It may be that her disgrace was caused by the jealousy of Livia; but if so the intrigue was only half successful, for the fall of the mother seemed to increase

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Hercynian forest, the modern Bohemia. At the same time his lieutenant Saturninus, with a like force, marched eastward from the Rhine to meet him. This was another bold and skilful combination which deserves unqualified admiration. It was on the point of being completed when the reported outbreak of an insurrection in Pannonia disconcerted the plans of Tiberius. His first duty was to secure the peace and safety of the empire. Both armies were ordered to retire upon their respective bases; and this operation was conducted without loss or dishonour.

The struggle of the Pannonians, protracted through three years, was formidable enough to try the resources of the empire and to bring discredit upon the emperor himself. Augustus had outlived the favour with which he had been so long regarded, and he was harassed by the scandals brought upon his family through the misconduct of a younger Julia as shameless as her mother. The exile of Ovid, which occurred in A.D. 8, was most likely due to a political intrigue, for which his friend Maximus suffered death and Agrippa Postumus was disgraced and secluded.

The closing years of Augustus were further clouded by a great military disaster. The government of the half-constituted provinces beyond the Rhine had been entrusted to Quintilius Varus. This officer tried to rule the rude Germans by the subtle system of Roman law rather than by the sword. His well-meant endeavours irritated the Germans to the point of rebellion. Headed by their hero Arminius, they compelled the proconsul to take the field against them with three legions. The Roman army, entangled in the Teutoburg forest, was utterly routed, the proconsul slain, and three eagles captured. The Romans had suffered no such defeat except on the three fatal days of the Allia, of Cannæ, and of Carrhæ.

U.C. 762, A.D. 9.

Aided by Tiberius, the emperor gallantly confronted the danger of a general rising in the north and of seditions in the city. The Gauls and Germans in Rome were placed under strict control. With the utmost difficulty fresh troops were levied, and after a whole year devoted to preparations, Tiberius, accompanied by the young Germanicus, once more led the legions across the Rhine. This expedition amounted to little more than a military promenade. The Romans were now too wary to pursue the enemy into their forest fastnesses. At the

end of a few weeks they retired behind the Rhine, which became once more the frontier of the empire. Tiberius now returned to Rome to celebrate his triumph over the Pannonians. The citizens were reassured by this solemnity, and, reckless of recent losses, still believed in the invincibility of Roman arms. But the aged Augustus sank into a state of nervous despondency, allowed his hair and beard to grow untrimmed for months, and was heard to exclaim, 'Varus! Varus! give me back my legions.'

Germanicus now assumed the command on the Rhine, while Tiberius was detained in Rome, and seemed more than ever secure of the succession; though it was rumoured that Augustus chafed at the moroseness of his temper, and formed a gloomy augury of his career in power.

Conscious of his approaching end, the emperor, for the third time during his reign, ordered a census of the empire to be taken. This was completed in A.D. 14. He spent the next few months in compiling a brief statement of his acts, which has most fortunately been preserved to modern times by its inscription on the wall of a temple still standing at Ancyra. This record extends over a period of fifty-eight years, and details with simple dignity all the undertakings he accomplished, the offices he served, the honours he enjoyed, his liberality and magnificence, his piety towards the gods, his patriotism in behalf of the city. His last summer was spent in moving gently from one villa to another, until death laid his hand upon him at Nola. Tiberius hurried to his death-bed, and Livia gave out, whether truly or not, that he had arrived in time to receive his parting injunctions and perform the last offices of filial piety. Augustus had arrived at the verge of seventy-seven, and had lived in safety with his ambitious consort for half a century. The vulgar surmise that Livia poisoned him seems hardly worth a thought, except to warn us against too easy belief in many surmises of the same sort which we shall hereafter meet with. U.C. 767, A.D. 14.

The closing scene of this illustrious career was very peaceful. After desiring that his grey hairs and beard might be set in order, Augustus asked his friends around him whether he had played well his part in life's drama, and then muttered a verse from a comic epilogue inviting them to greet his exit with applause. He then fell into Livia's arms, commending to her

battle; and Drusus did not extricate himself without difficulty from his perilous position. An outpost was planted at Aliso, fifty miles east of the Rhine; and for his successes the emperor granted him the triumphal ensigns and the honour of an ovation, but refused him the title of imperator. Meanwhile the exploits of Tiberius against the Pannonians were deemed worthy of a similar recognition. Augustus had the satisfaction of exhibiting both his stepsons to the people in the character of national heroes. In the year 11 B.C. Tiberius was married to Julia, and about the same time Octavia died.

In the year 10 B.C. Augustus again visited Gaul, and yielding to the instances of Drusus, authorised another expedition beyond the Rhine. This time the Roman army penetrated through the country of the Chatti as far as the river Elbe. But the Cherusci still retired before them. Drusus became alarmed at the perils of his situation. Unfavourable omens were reported; and after erecting a trophy to mark their farthest point, the legions retreated, but before reaching the Rhine, the young conqueror was killed by a fall from his horse. Augustus conveyed the remains with ample honours to Rome, and himself pronounced an oration over the body when it was buried in his own mausoleum in the Campus Martius. The title of Germanicus, which had been conferred on the young hero, was allowed to descend to his son.

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less renewed the attempt in the following year with better success. On this occasion the resistance offered by Arminius was weakened by tribal dissensions. The land and sea armaments united their forces, and were able to visit the scene of the disaster in the Teutoburg forest, where they buried the corpses of their countrymen and recovered two of the eagles lost by Varus. Next spring Germanicus made a third campaign over the same ground, in the course of which he recovered the last of the Varian eagles, and succeeded in defeating the full force of Arminius in a pitched battle. In both these campaigns heavy loss was suffered by the detachment of Roman troops which returned from the war by sea; and Tiberius complained, with increasing vehemence, of these expensive and bootless enterprises.

U.C. 768, A.D. 15.

Germanicus had proved himself an able general, yet his recall from his northern command was determined on. The provinces of Asia needed the presence of a proconsul of more than usual dignity. Cappadocia and Commagene were to be reduced to the form of provinces. Syria and Judæa were uneasy under the weight of their taxation. The Parthians would be more loyal to their engagements if they were once more overawed by the presence of a near relative of the emperor's, the vicegerent and representative of his father's majesty and power.

Germanicus not unwillingly undertook this Oriental mission, visiting with interest the celebrated sites of Greece and Western Asia, and winning the goodwill of everybody by his gentleness and affability. After placing the diadem on the head of the Armenian king in his own capital, and settling the affairs of Commagene and Cappadocia, he amused himself with a tour through Egypt. Throughout this prolonged journey he was accompanied and jealously watched by Cnæus Piso, a noble of high rank, appointed by the emperor with the title of adjutor. On his return from Egypt, Germanicus sickened and died of a wasting illness. The people, who loved him as heartily as they detested Tiberius, were fully persuaded that he had been poisoned, and when it was found that Piso had profited by the death of his superior to seize upon his vacant appointment, that noble was promptly summoned to appear before the senate and justify his conduct. Piso returned to stand his trial, but when the time came for him to make his defence, he

was found dead with his throat cut and his bloody sword beside him. There seems no reason to doubt that he committed suicide, but popular rumour asserted that Tiberius had caused him to be assassinated to silence any testimony against himself.

The death of Piso points our attention to the antagonism which now began to make itself felt between the old aristocracy of the republic and the growing power of the empire. The number of these illustrious families had been greatly thinned by the civil wars; the pride and self-assertion of those who survived was only the more intensified. To an Æmilius, a Calpurnius, a Lepidus, or a Piso, the son of Octavius was no more than a plebeian imperator raised to power by the breath of the commonalty. His pretensions to legitimate right they despised and repudiated. Each of them conceived that he had as good or better right to rule than the upstart whom fortune had placed in the ascendant. Piso doubtless deemed himself at least the natural equal of Tiberius.

Against the intrigues of these discontented nobles the emperors found it necessary to defend themselves by special measures of repression. Fifty years before the foundation of the empire, a law of *majesty* had been enacted for the protection of the tribunes. Any attack upon the person or the dignity of the tribune was declared to be an assault upon the majesty of the commonwealth, and was punished as treason against the state. Of this law Augustus availed himself to prevent the publication of pasquinades against the emperor, as well as to repress more serious attempts at sedition. Under Tiberius, however, the position of the emperor came to be regarded with increasing adulation, as one altogether sacred and apart from common men, as that of the gods on Olympus. Not only attempts on the life of the emperor, but any words or writings which detracted from his unapproachable dignity, were treated as heinous crimes only to be compared with sacrilege. To inquire of a soothsayer into the years of the emperor was made treasonable; to speak a disrespectful or abusive word against the emperor was equally so.

When to a law of this sweeping nature was added a system of spying and informing, which was set on foot and encouraged by Tiberius, it is no matter of surprise that during his reign many of the nobles, both men and women, fell under its severe

penalties. The informers were rewarded with a large share of the confiscated fortunes of their victims, and so degraded were many of the nobles, that they did not scruple to acquire wealth in this way by preying upon their own order. By such mean and crafty devices Tiberius was enabled to mask for a time, under the forms of justice, the studied cruelty with which he broke down the independence of the class he feared and hated.

Conscious of his own lack of commanding ability, morose and reserved by temperament, the emperor was intensely jealous of all who possessed the qualities in which he was most deficient. This feeling, soothed for a time by the death of the gallant and popular Germanicus, was soon revived against his widow Agrippina, who stood no less high in popular favour. His own son Drusus, though constantly employed in military affairs, was not loved by the Roman people, nor did the emperor regard him with any confidence or affection. Tiberius had indeed recalled him to Rome, and, by conferring on him both the consulship and the tribunician power, had virtually associated him with himself in the empire. But it was not on Drusus that he really leant for support. The man on whom the emperor relied as his intimate counsellor and useful instrument was Ælius Sejanus, the captain of the prætorian guards, a courtier of no high distinction in birth, accomplishments, or abilities—perhaps preferred for this very want of distinction.

Sejanus conceived the daring ambition of securing to himself the succession to the imperial throne. To effect this object it would be necessary to destroy all the branches of the imperial family who might have legitimate claims to it. He began by removing Drusus by poison, having first debauched his wife Livilla, whom he hoped to marry after her husband's death, and so raise himself into the line of succession. He further fomented his master's ill-feeling against Agrippina and her family, to whom he imputed a spirit of restless intrigue. Lastly, he exerted all his influence to induce the emperor to withdraw from the vexations of public life at Rome to the voluptuous retreat of Capreæ, and to leave in his minister's hands the entire control of state affairs.

One good influence still exercised some restraint over the mind of Tiberius, distracted by fears and jealousies, that of his mother Livia. To her adroitness throughout the reign of

Augustus, and especially at the moment of his death, he undoubtedly owed his own elevation. His obligations to her he had always acknowledged to the extent of almost allowing her to share his power. It is probably to her influence that we may attribute his one act of justice to the family of Germanicus in marrying that prince's daughter, a younger Agrippina, to Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus. From this union sprang the future emperor Nero.

The elder Agrippina continued to live in constant fear of the tyrant, which her high spirit did not suffer her to conceal.

Tiberius at length rebelled against the pretensions of his mother, and mustered courage to forbid her to take part in public affairs, while he withdrew himself to Capreæ, and left Sejanus in sole possession of all ostensible power.

At last Livia died in the year 59, in her eighty-second, or as some compute, in her eighty-sixth year. Tiberius scarcely disguised his satisfaction, took no part in the funeral, and forbade her deification, which the senate had obsequiously proposed. U.C. 782, A.D. 29.

Released from her restraining influence, he fell more than ever into the hands of his minister. The first act which marked this change for the worse was the despatch of a harsh letter to the senate denouncing the elder Agrippina and her son Nero, but leaving the assembly to guess what measures would be most pleasing to its master. The people thronged about the senate house protesting that the letter was a forgery, and a foul conspiracy of Sejanus. The latter, however, profited by this movement to excite the fears of Tiberius, and induce him to command an inquiry into the political conduct of the widow and her children. Accusers were readily found; the trial was hurried through, and both mother and son were banished to the barren islands of Pandateria and Pontia. Agrippina is said to have resisted the attempt to remove her, and to have lost an eye in the struggle. Two other of her sons, Drusus and Caius, still remained, and these Tiberius retained about his own person at Capreæ; but at the suggestion of Sejanus one of them, Drusus, was soon after dismissed from the island, and imprisoned in a dungeon at Rome.

Many of Agrippina's friends now fell under proscription, while Sejanus seemed to be advancing in his audacious projects,

and rising still higher in favour. He was appointed consul jointly with the emperor, and encouraged to hope for a marriage with Livilla. The people whispered that Sejanus was emperor of Rome, while Tiberius was lord of one island only. The senators crowded about the leader of their debates with every demonstration of devotion, and when they decreed him consular powers for five years, he regarded it as a surrender of the government into his hands.

Tiberius, however, was becoming afraid of a favourite who had grown too powerful, and had already determined to overthrow him. After the lapse of a few months he resigned the consulship, and required Sejanus to do the same. He then announced his intention to visit Rome, and so played upon the fears and ambitions of his minister as to goad him into forming a plot for the emperor's assassination. Tiberius obtained proofs of this conspiracy, and then took into his confidence Macro, an officer of his body-guard, whom he commissioned to take command of the prætorian guard. He further directed him to confer with the consuls, and to have the senate convened. At this sitting a long and rambling letter from the emperor was read, in the course of which he complained of the solitude of the poor old Cæsar and his precarious position, and required one of the consuls to bring a military force to Capreæ and escort him to the city. The letter, after wandering from one subject to another, suddenly closed with an appeal to the consul to arrest Sejanus as a traitor. The ex-minister found himself hustled and seized by the chiefs of the senate; Macro had already taken command of the prætorian guard, and without further delay Sejanus was dragged to the Mamertine prison and there strangled. His remains were afterwards cast out and publicly insulted in the streets, and his family and friends shared his fate in a general massacre.

U.C. 784, A.D. 31.

Tiberius watched for the telegraphic signals from Rome in an agony of suspense. The swiftest triremes lay ready to waft him to Gaul or Syria should his combinations be frustrated. Even when he knew that his orders had been executed, he still lingered for months upon his lonely rock, while a relentless proscription was carried on by the senate against all who could be deemed his enemies.

Early in the following year, A.D. 32, Tiberius crossed the narrow strait which divides Capreæ from the mainland at

Surrentum, and began his progress to Rome. The citizens joyfully prepared to welcome their emperor in their midst, but were rather astonished to learn that he had left the land and was advancing in a galley up the Tiber, preceded by guards who rudely cleared away all spectators from the banks. In this strange fashion he arrived at Cæsar's gardens, but no sooner did he find himself once more beneath the hills of Rome, than he turned his prow without landing, and never paused in his retreat till he had regained his island. The Romans were intensely mortified by this proceeding. Their indignation and disgust broke forth in loud murmurs against the emperor. He was spoken of as the patron of panders, the sport of minions; as being drunk with wine and blood; as being ashamed to face honest people, and unable to tear himself for a moment from his detestable orgies and vile debaucheries.

It has been conjectured with much probability that the strange conduct of Tiberius may have been due to a taint of hereditary insanity in the blood of the Claudii, which had been wont to break out in that family during many generations either in the form of extravagant pride or ungovernable violence. The ancients, however, considered that the morbid ferocity and unhappiness of this emperor were simply the natural penalty of the evil and licentious life which he led. Be this as it may, Tiberius was not alone in his despairing and miserable frame of mind. Some of the noblest Romans of his time were driven to suicide by a similar feeling of degradation and despair. Cocceius Nerva, a man of the highest character and attainments, occupying a high position in the state, enjoying a flourishing fortune and perfect health, deliberately starved himself to death. Arruntius and others imitated his example. This form of death was also imposed by the tyrant upon the young Drusus, who had for some time languished in the dungeons of the imperial palace, and was voluntarily chosen by Agrippina as the only escape from the miseries and bereavements of her life in exile. It was thus through his own perverseness and cruelty that Tiberius, as he approached the end of his life, found himself supported by only three surviving males of the lineage of Cæsar, and none of these gave any promise of political ability, or had received any training in public life. Among these three princes, who all stood in the position of his adopted sons, he must choose his successor. They were as follows: (1) Tiberius

U.C. 786, A.D. 33.

Claudius Drusus, born U.C. 744, B.C. 10—nephew of the emperor, and son of the elder Germanicus. He was reputed weak in mind, and had been excluded from public life by Augustus; he was, however, fond of books and literary pursuits. He afterwards became the emperor Claudius. (2) Caius, the younger son of Germanicus and Agrippina, born A.D. 12—a favourite with the legions for his father's sake, and nicknamed by them Caligula from the military buskin (caliga) which he wore as a child in the Rhenish camps. During his long residence in the palace at Capreæ he learnt to dissemble, and by patient and obsequious service disarmed the jealousy of his great-uncle. He afterwards became the emperor Caligula. (3) Tiberius, surnamed Gemellus, born A.D. 19, son of the younger Drusus who was starved in the vaults of the Palatine, and nephew of Caligula. He was made coheir with Caligula of the emperor's property, but soon after the accession of the latter was put to death by his order.

As the end of Tiberius drew near he became more and more dependent upon Macro, the captain of his body-guard, but he steadily refused to nominate an heir to the empire for fear his officers should transfer their devotion from himself to his destined successor. When at length he lay in a state of torpor resembling death, it is said that Macro made sure of the tyrant's departure by having him smothered under blankets. His death occurred on March 16, A.D. 37.

The character of Tiberius was execrated by the Romans, and their execrations have been justly echoed by all posterity. For cruelty and debauchery no man has attained a name so detestable. It is, however, important to remark that the crimes and vices of this monster were of a personal and private sort, and did not largely affect his government of the empire. Those who came into personal contact with him, the senators, the nobles, his own kinsmen and counsellors, and the citizens of Rome, could not but be degraded by his evil influence. The wide-spread provinces of the empire were happily beyond the reach of his poisonous example, and flourished during his reign with a peaceful prosperity previously unknown. The imperial arms, though little exercised, were everywhere respected. The embers of agitation in Africa and Gaul were quietly extinguished. The manners and arts of Rome extended their sway year by year deeper into the heart of Germany. The

Parthians were overawed. Palestine was annexed, and the Jews found the imperial rule far more mild and equable than that of their own princes had been. In one important particular Tiberius changed the system under which the provinces of the empire were governed. It had been the practice to change the proconsuls after two or three years of office. Tiberius left them sometimes unchanged for many years together, and to this cause, more perhaps than any other, we may attribute the exceptional felicity enjoyed by the Roman empire during his reign.

CHAPTER LVI.

THE REIGNS OF CAIUS CALIGULA AND OF CLAUDIUS.

At the age of twenty-five Caius Cæsar, commonly known as Caligula, assumed the reins of power. Young, handsome, and courteous, though utterly inexperienced, he was eagerly welcomed by the senate, the army, and the people. His weakly constitution, his liability to fits, and the feverish excitability of his brain render it probable that his Claudian blood carried with it the germs of insanity. But at the outset of his career, all men were charmed by the generosity and modesty of his conduct. After promising ample largesses to the people and the soldiers, he proclaimed an amnesty to all political prisoners and exiles. He publicly burnt the informations put into his hands by the spies and sycophants of the previous reign, and proscribed their vicious authors. He allowed the political writings which had been suppressed by the senate to be freely circulated. He revised the roll of the senate and the knights, bestowing his favour on those most worthy of it. Lastly, he earned the popular applause by the piety with which he conveyed the ashes of his mother and brother from their lonely resting places to the mausoleum of Augustus. It was a relief to the citizens that he did not insist on the deification of the hated Tiberius. U.C. 790, A.D. 37.

On assuming the consulship he promised to devote himself to public business, and during the next two months his just and liberal measures proved that he had redeemed his pledge. On

the arrival of his birthday on August 1, this industry was exchanged for profuse and magnificent hospitality. The consecration of a temple in honour of Julius, the founder of his race, was celebrated with a triumphal procession, with sacrifices, hymns, and banquets at which the emperor himself presided, with his sisters at his side, surrounded by the priests and flamens of the Augustan hero-worship.

Business henceforth gave place to enjoyment. With a wild frenzy of delight he plunged into gross and voluptuous dissipation, which soon upset his weak constitution and laid him on a sick-bed in imminent danger of death. The interest taken in his health, the anxiety shown for his recovery, turned his weak head, and filled him with exaggerated notions of the importance and sacredness of his life. His first act on recovering was to put to death his nephew Tiberius.

Macro, the prætorian captain, had introduced him as emperor to the army and to the senate, and had since then stedfastly supported him. Macro's wife, Ennia, had surrendered herself to his passion. These two were next executed by his order without trial of any kind. The illustrious Silanus, whose daughter the emperor had married, was recalled from Africa, arraigned on some charge, and summarily ordered to kill himself. These cruel deeds were most likely prompted by the requirements of his reckless extravagance.

The death of his sister Drusilla, with whom he carried on an incestuous commerce, further embittered him and drove him on to madness. After decreeing to her divine honours by the name of Panthea, the crazy monster declared that if any man dared to mourn for her death, he should be punished, for she had become a goddess; if anyone rejoiced at her deification, he should be punished also, for she was dead.

This incident illustrates the logical character of Caligula's mind, which frankly asserted itself in his system of government. Augustus and Tiberius had learnt in the school of experience to indulge their subjects with a pretence of independence. Caius knew himself to be the master of a nation of slaves, and it pleased him to assert his autocracy openly, in Oriental fashion, such as he had learnt from Herod Agrippa, king of Judæa, with whom he was brought up in the palace of Tiberius. It pleased him also that everything about him should be on a grand imperial scale. Strange it is that he should have been guided by

such a principle in his choice of his fourth wife, Cæsonia; but in his architectural undertakings it led him to good results. He completed the temple of Augustus, restored the theatre of Pompey, and laid the foundations of an amphitheatre of his own. He designed and began the noble aqueduct called Aqua Claudia, a work of manifest utility, whose ruins still bear witness to its splendour. One of his extravagant freaks was the throwing of a bridge or gallery from his own residence on the Palatine across the valley to the Capitol, in order, as he said, that he might be next neighbour to Jupiter, with whom he claimed equal divinity. A similar undertaking was the construction of a bridge across the bay of Baiæ from Bauli to Puteoli. A spit of land already existed on the one side, and a mole 1,200 feet long on the other. These two points were connected by a bridge of boats, and across the causeway so constructed the emperor led a body of troops in triumph. The show was witnessed by a crowd of spectators, many of whom fell into the water and were drowned, the emperor, it is asserted, being delighted by the accident, and forbidding them to be rescued.

Tasteless extravagance was now the order of the day, and nowhere more so than at the tables of the rich. Dishes of costly rarity were sought for, such as peacocks, nightingales, and the tongues and brains of phœnicopters (possibly flamingoes). Caius is reported to have spent as much as 80,000*l.* on a single feast, exclaiming at its conclusion, 'A man should be frugal except he be a Cæsar.' His vanity led him to aim at pre-eminence not only in gluttony but also in charioteering and in oratory. Envious of the fame of the ancient heroes of the republic, he cast down their statues, and deprived the images of illustrious houses of their distinguishing marks, the Cincinnati of their ringlets, the Torquati of their golden collars. He forbade the last descendant of the great Pompeius to bear the surname of Magnus; and he rejected with contumely the works of Virgil and Livy from the public libraries.

From such unworthy acts of brutality he roused himself in the year 39 to undertake a spirited enterprise. Lentulus Gætulicus, proconsul of the Rhenish provinces, had defied Tiberius and refused to surrender his command. It is probable that he was engaged in a conspiracy with persons of distinction at Rome against the new emperor. U.C. 792, A.D. 39.

Caius, however, marched into Gaul, and to the frontier of the Rhine, put down the plot, cut off the leaders of it, and banished his own sisters, whom he found to be implicated.

In the following year he announced his intention of invading Britain. At Gessoriacum (Boulogne) he marshalled his legions, and reviewed them from a galley at sea; then the trumpets sounded, and the emperor issued the absurd command to pile arms and pick up shells on the beach. These 'spoils of the ocean,' as Caius called them, were forwarded to the senate at Rome, with the order to deposit them among the treasures in the Capitol.

Having thus, as he pretended, reduced the ocean to submission, he returned to Rome to celebrate a gorgeous triumph. As he approached the city he learnt that the senate had failed to pass the necessary decrees, and, filled with fury against that body, he gave up the idea of a triumph. His treatment of the nobles now became unbearably insolent. One day, he threatened to make his horse a consul. Another, he laughingly suggested to the consuls, as a good joke, that with one word he could cause their heads to roll on the floor.

The end of this monstrous principate was drawing near, not from general indignation of the senate or people, but from resentment at a private affront. Cassius Chærea, a tribune of the prætorians, vowed vengeance on the emperor for some gibe with which he had lightly stung him. Associates who had grievances to avenge were soon found, and the conspirators only waited for the propitious moment to strike the blow. Four days did Caius preside at the theatre surrounded by the men who had sworn to slay him. At last, as he was passing through a vaulted passage from the palace to the circus, Chærea and another tribune, Sabinus, fell upon him and struck him down. Others of the party kept off the German body-guards till he had been despatched with thirty wounds. The assassins all escaped, and the body was hastily buried. The senate, to which the tyrant's death was promptly announced, was thrown into confusion, and undecided how to act. They could only agree to destroy the infant child of the late Cæsar and its mother Cæsonia. The decision, however, was taken out of their hands. Some of the guards roaming through the palace discovered, hiding behind a curtain, a person whom they recognised as Claudius, the uncle of their

U.C. 794, A.D. 41.

murdered chief. They led him, more dead than alive with fear, to the camp of the prætorians, and demanded a largess. He promised lavishly. Then the soldiers bore him on their shoulders to the curia, and required the senators to accept him as the last living representative of the Cæsars. All opposition quailed before the will of the soldiers; the offices and honours of empire were at once heaped upon the man who, up to that day, had been deemed unfit to discharge the meanest functions of civil or military government. Any transient hope of restoring the republic collapsed. The treasury and the granaries were empty, and if Rome did not appoint an emperor, she must accept a dictator.

Claudius at once avenged his nephew's death by the execution of Chærea and Sabinus, but his timid nature shrank from blood-shedding, and he preferred to propitiate his nobles rather than attempt to crush them. He was careful, however, to secure his own life. Guards were constantly posted round his person at table, and on all public occasions; and none was suffered to approach him without being searched for concealed weapons. Thus reassured, Claudius proclaimed an amnesty to all political exiles, and displayed in many particulars a kind and generous spirit. He restored to Greece and Asia the statues of which Caius had robbed them. He paid special honours to the memory of Germanicus, Augustus, and Livia. So popular did he become, that when, by chance, a report of his assassination was spread abroad, the people were violently excited; they assailed the senators and soldiers with cries of treason and parricide, and were not to be appeased till their favourite appeared in person before them.

The contemporary accounts represent this emperor as feeble in health, with shambling gait, and misshapen limbs and figure. His busts, however, show a fine intelligent countenance harassed by pain and perplexity of spirit. Uxorious by temperament, he married a number of wives in succession, but was free from the libidinous excesses common among his class and family. His special weakness was gluttony; but at the outset of his reign he was debarred by poverty from the wild extravagances of Caius, and he dared not, like him, replenish his coffers by the proscription of his nobles and the confiscation of their estates.

Claudius began at once to devote his time and his powers to

the public service. Though his wits may have been slow, his industry was untiring and his zeal sincere. In the administration of justice he would tire out his legal assessors by his unwearied application to business. If some of his measures were pedantic and old-fashioned, others displayed a breadth of view and liberality of spirit unknown since the time of the great Julius. Indeed he carried out the policy of his great ancestor by largely extending the Roman franchise to the provincials. In the control of the provincial governors, and the vindication of the majesty of Rome on all the frontiers of the empire, he was no less successful. But his most brilliant enterprise was the invasion and actual subjugation of Britain. In the year 43 Aulus Plautius landed with four legions, probably on the coast of Kent, and, having overcome all resistance, crossed the Thames into the country of the Trinobantes, who occupied Essex and Hertfordshire. Here the emperor joined the army, and so active were his movements, that within sixteen days he had subdued this people and planted a colony, Camulodunum (now Colchester), on the site of their capital.

U.C. 796, A.D. 43.

Claudius then returned at once to Rome, but his lieutenants continued to prosecute the conquest with success. Vespasianus reduced the western country as far as the Exe and the Severn. Ostorius Scapula advanced to the Wye and the foot of the Welsh mountains. The Britons, headed by Caractacus, made a gallant but fruitless resistance. They were utterly routed, and their leader, who had escaped from the field, was soon after betrayed to the Romans, and carried off to Rome to figure in the triumph which Claudius had justly earned. This triumph was conducted after a new fashion. In the course of it the captive Caractacus was allowed to address the emperor in a speech not unworthy of a patriot; and the latter, to his credit, spared his prisoner's life.

In the East, Claudius effected a new settlement of the frontier provinces. Many suppliant princes who had thronged the court of Tiberius and Caius were sent off to govern their native realms in dependence upon the sovereign empire. Among these was Herod Agrippa, who was not only confirmed in his sway over Galilee, but received in addition the province of Palestine. The Jews, who had been on the brink of rebellion, owing to the threat of Caius to set up his statue in their temple,

were pleased with this concession and celebrated the return of Agrippa to Jerusalem as a national triumph. The reign of Herod was not of long duration. In the following year, A.D. 44, at Cæsarea, after addressing the people, he was saluted by the Hellenising section of them as a god. His death by a terrible disease followed within a few days; his son was retained in Italy as a hostage; and Judæa became once more part of the proconsular province of Syria. For several generations the Jews had been accustomed to roam beyond the narrow limits of their own country. Wherever trade was active, in the great cities of the Euphrates, in Alexandria, in the ports of Greece and Asia Minor, they had settled in large numbers. Such a colony existed also at Rome, and occupied a quarter of their own. Many of these people were highly cultivated, and ingratiated themselves with the best families, to whom their religious doctrines began to be familiar. Julius Cæsar and Augustus showed them much favour, but owing to their turbulence and quarrelsome disposition, Tiberius punished them by deporting 4,000 of them to Sardinia. Under Claudius they gave similar cause of offence to the government. It may be that their hatred of the rising sect of Christians was the cause of these troubles. A scarcity of corn occurred, and finding it difficult to provide the Roman populace with food, the government took the opportunity to order a general expulsion of the Jews.

U.C. 797, A.D. 44.

The subjection of Claudius to his wives has been much dwelt upon by historians, and has rendered him a by-word for weakness and stupidity. After divorcing first one and then another, he married for his third wife the infamous Valeria Messalina. Her infidelities and the arts by which she deceived her husband are described as surpassing all bounds. At length, during the emperor's absence from Rome, she cast her eyes upon a young and virtuous noble named Silius, and we are assured publicly went through the ceremony of marriage with him. Claudius was with difficulty roused to a sense of his dishonour, and gave the order for them both to be executed. It has been hinted, however, that the emperor had already divorced his wicked wife, and himself brought about this second marriage in order to satisfy the prediction of a soothsayer that the husband of Messalina was destined to a speedy death.

U.C. 801, A.D. 48.

It is important to observe here that the materials for the history of this period are far from trustworthy. Even the great Tacitus is not to be implicitly relied on. There is distinct reason to believe that the affairs of Claudius were studiously misrepresented. The most popular account of them was derived from the scandalous memoirs of Agrippina, which were greedily accepted and repeated by the ribald anecdotists of the next generation. Her aim in writing them seems to have been to blast the fame of Messalina, whose vacant place she filled, to discredit Claudius, and to magnify her own merits and those of her son Nero.

On the death of Messalina there ensued a great struggle in the palace for the succession to the imperial couch. Claudius had allowed the management of affairs to fall for the most part into the hands of freedmen, all of whom were of Greek origin. Narcissus, Callistus, and Pallas put forth each a candidate for marriage with the emperor. Agrippina, who gained the prize, is said to have owed it even more to her own seductive arts than to the favour of her powerful advocate, Pallas. This second heroine of the name was a daughter of Germanicus, sister of Caius Caligula, and niece of the reigning emperor. The objections to the marriage of an uncle with his niece were easily overruled.

Agrippina began at once to exert all her influence to secure the succession to her own son by a former husband, Domitius Ahenobarbus. She spared no pains, and probably no falsehood, to disgust her facile spouse with the memory of the wretched Messalina, by whom he had a son named Britannicus. Claudius consented to adopt the young Domitius into his family, by the name of Nero, placed him on a level with his own child, and allowed him to be betrothed to Octavia, the sister of Britannicus. Agrippina, who had been born among the Rhenish camps, was careful to keep up her interest and popularity with the army; and for this purpose founded the military colony of Colonia Agrippinensis, now Cologne. She took her seat beside the emperor at all military spectacles, and had her image stamped with his upon the coins.

Under the influence of his freedmen and his ambitious consort, Claudius was induced to sully his later years by many acts of cruelty. By the time that Nero, now in his sixteenth year, was married to Octavia, the plans of Agrippina had ripened. The

constitution of the emperor, weakly from the first, was beginning to break up, and his wife resolved to hasten his end. She took counsel with the infamous Locusta, who made a profession of the art of poisoning. During a journey taken by the emperor into Campania for the benefit of his health, she found means of introducing poison into a dish of mushrooms, of which he was very fond. Perhaps the dose was too strong, for he vomited and the drug failed of its effect. Agrippina hastily secured the services of the physician in attendance, who thrust a poisoned feather down the patient's throat under pretence of assisting him, and the effect was sufficiently rapid.

U.C. 807, A.D. 54.

CHAPTER LVII.

THE REIGN OF NERO.

THE reign of Claudius had been, on the whole, a period of general prosperity and contentment for the empire. The machine of government, both in the city and in the provinces, had worked smoothly and steadily. The success of the legions in Britain and in Germany had added lustre to the Roman name. Both the senate and the populace had been treated with consideration and generosity. Yet in spite of his inoffensive character, the feeble dulness of Claudius, and his want of self-respect in the matter of his wives, brought upon him more contempt and odium than all the vices of the Cæsars before him. This feeling was carefully encouraged by Agrippina, in order to lower the estimation of Britannicus, and enhance the popular expectation of her own child, Domitius Nero.

Seneca, the philosopher, had been charged with the education of the prince. Burrhus, the prefect of the prætorians, had undertaken to maintain his claims to the empire. With the help of these two men, Agrippina found no difficulty in thrusting Britannicus aside and installing the upstart Nero on the imperial throne. The beauty of his person, the grace of his demeanour, and his reputation for rare talents and accomplishments, inclined the Romans to welcome him as their ruler. These brilliant hopes seemed for some time destined to be fulfilled.

Under Seneca's guidance, aided by the manly sense of Burrhus, Nero held the balance between the senate and the people, and gratified both. His teachers urged upon him counsels of moderation, courtesy, and clemency, which he carried out in practice. The first five years of Nero's reign, the famous 'Quinquennium Neronis,' were long celebrated as an era of virtuous and able government. The wise statesmen, in whose hands Nero was little more than an instrument, were content simply to protect the machinery of government from disturbance, and the Roman world enjoyed the privilege of being ruled with a 'masterly inactivity.'

The young emperor's worst enemy was his own mother, Agrippina. From the day of his accession she resolved to share his state and power. She was borne in the same litter with him; she stamped the coins with her own head beside his; she received ambassadors, and sent despatches to foreign courts. Finding that her influence upon her son was altogether evil, Seneca and Burrhus brought about the disgrace and dismissal of Pallas, her freedman and confidant, on a charge of treason. Agrippina threatened to use her influence with the army, and even hinted at setting up Britannicus as the rightful heir to the empire. These threats roused Nero's jealousy against the young prince; the services of the vile Locusta were again employed, and the innocent stripling was poisoned at a banquet in the palace in the presence of the guilty emperor.

U.C. 808, A.D. 55.

The schism between the mother and son became now complete. Her intrigues with the chiefs of the army were disclosed to him, and he retaliated by withdrawing the guard from her house, and never paying her a formal visit without the precaution of being surrounded by soldiers. It was rumoured that both mother and son entertained designs upon the life of the other. Nero at length insisted upon his mother's conduct being inquired into. She was declared innocent of conspiring against him, and she in turn had the satisfaction of bringing some of her accusers to punishment. As time went on, the young emperor sank more and more into licentious and extravagant habits: by the former what remained to him of natural good feeling was becoming fast extinguished; by the latter he was being entangled in necessities, which could not fail to drive him to tyrannical and bloody excesses. If he still ingratiated

himself with the people by remissions of taxation, he was about to indemnify himself by the proscription of the wealthiest of the nobles, and the confiscation of many vast estates.

The most beautiful woman then in Rome, and one of the most licentious, was Poppæa Sabina, wife of the dissolute Salvius Otho. She entangled Nero in an amour with her, and suffered him to send her husband to a distant government in Lusitania, while she employed all her arts to obtain the divorce of Octavia, and her own elevation to the imperial couch. The great obstacle in her way was the power and influence of the empress-mother, who angrily supported Octavia in her rights. Poppæa revived against her the charges which had been examined and rebutted four years before, and Nero, under the teaching of Poppæa, was less unwilling to believe them.

The tyrant now determined on the murder of his own mother. He contrived that as she crossed the smooth waters of the bay of Baiæ her galley should founder. To the disappointment of her son, Agrippina escaped to land, and sent a message to him. He assembled his ministers, and at last extracted from them the counsel for which he was longing. Seneca and Burrhus felt that the palace must be relieved from the intrigues which had so long harassed it. They consented to complete the frustrated crime by the hand of assassins. A pretext was easily invented, the order was given, and the empress was despatched without delay. As she lay prostrate before her murderers, 'Strike,' she cried, 'the womb that bore a monster.' U.C. 812, A.D. 59. Nero is reported to have himself inspected the corpse, and expressed his admiration of its beauty. Such were the horrors over which Roman society then shuddered and gloated.

Poppæa now obtained entire sway over the tyrant, living with him openly as his mistress, and encouraging him to give himself up to the coarsest and most disgusting pleasures. It was not till three years later that she cared to obtain the divorce and exile of Octavia, her own release from Otho, and finally her marriage with Nero. Installed as empress, she bore him one child, and died soon after from the effects of a kick inflicted by her husband during a second pregnancy.

The faithful Burrhus was relieved by death from the sight of his prince's increasing depravity. It was rumoured that Nero had had him poisoned, but of this there is no sufficient evidence. Many nobles, however, were at this time proscribed,

and their wealth appropriated by the tyrant. The great freedmen of the court of Claudius, Doryphorus and Pallas, fell in like manner and were little regretted. Seneca himself, who had amassed great riches by usury, narrowly escaped a similar fate. He succeeded in disproving the charges brought against him, but accepted the warning of his danger and retired from court. Nero was not sorry to be relieved of the restraint of his presence. Casting aside the stately traditions of the Roman nobility, the emperor now strove to make himself the idol of the populace, the scum of all nations with which Rome was inundated. He descended into the arena, contending with professional singers and musicians, and taking part in the games of the circus. The rabble shouted with delight, but the nobles shuddered at the degradation of their order.

It was in the summer of the year 817, the 64th of our era, that the great fire broke out which consumed six out of the fourteen quarters of Rome. Springing up in the eastern portion of the city, and fanned by an east wind, it swept away all the buildings which occupied the hollows below the Palatine. For six days the fire burned furiously, and scarcely had it died down, when another fire began in the opposite quarter, and consumed all the region between the Pincian and the Capitoline. Many venerable temples, works of art, and monuments of antiquity perished in the flames. The people were panic-stricken and highly excited. It was asserted that incendiaries had been seen at work, and on being questioned, had declared that they acted under orders. It was rumoured that the emperor watched the fire from his palace, and amused himself with enacting the drama of the destruction of Troy in view of it. The belief gained ground that he had himself caused the conflagration as a spectacle for his own wanton enjoyment.

So deep was the indignation of the people that the throne of Cæsar seemed to rock upon its base. Nero hastened into the streets, distributed in aid of their present necessities all the money he had at hand; and then, with characteristic cruelty, determined to divert public attention by a persecution which should transfer the odium from himself to his innocent victims. The Jews were not popular in the city; but the new sect of Christians, which had lately arisen among them, was beginning to excite alarm by the number of conversions it had effected among the highest class of Romans. The Christians were

reputed to withdraw from public and social life, and to hold doctrines hostile to the laws and customs of Rome. It may be that some of them had incautiously announced their expectation of the destruction of the world by fire before the coming of their Lord. It is probable that the Jews would fan any suspicions directed against the new sect. At any rate, Nero accused the Christians of having caused the conflagration, and commanded their execution. Numbers of victims were seized, wrapped in pitched cloth, and set on fire, so as to burn like torches. Even the refuse of the Roman mob was at last moved to pity; but their first fury had been diverted from the emperor, and it subsided into vague distrust or careless contempt.

Meanwhile Nero continued from time to time to replenish his coffers by the proscription of the wealthiest nobles. In spite of the jealousy with which the Cæsars had regarded them, this class had contrived to accumulate great possessions, especially in land. It is said that half the soil of the province of Africa was held in fee by no more than six proprietors. As one after another was attacked by the tyrant, the survivors became alarmed and conspired against him. Many of the chief people in Rome joined the plot, at the head of which stood Calpurnius Piso, who hoped in case of success to be elevated by the senate to the throne. Seneca and his nephew Lucan gave their adhesion to the scheme: but the combination was betrayed, and collapsed without ever striking a blow. U.C. 817, A.D. 64. Seneca and Lucan were required to take their own lives. The people seem to have had no sympathy with what was after all a purely aristocratic faction. They still preferred the names of Marius, of Cæsar, and even of Nero, the champions of the plebs, to any which the senate would deign to invoke.

The ease with which this senatorial revolt had been quelled, betrayed Nero still further to his ruin. He felt relieved from all restraint imposed by the opinion of Roman society. His vain exhibitions of himself and his supposed accomplishments disgusted even slaves and foreigners. During a tour which he made in Greece the Romans heard with indignation of their emperor contending for prizes at the Grecian festivals. All classes were thoroughly weary of him, but it was reserved neither for the senate nor the people of Rome to effect a change. A third force, that of the army on the distant frontiers, was

preparing to assert its power. Such a catastrophe as a provincial governor marching in arms against his imperator and driving him from the throne, had never yet occurred; though in more than one instance the Cæsars had descended with irresistible might upon their lieutenants, and snatched from them the power which began to be too great.

It may be that jealousy of Domitius Corbulo, the Syrian proconsul, was the motive which led Nero to the East. If so, the emperor was misguided by his own miserable vanity. This popular and successful commander was thoroughly loyal to his master, and when Nero required him to throw himself upon his own sword, he lost in him one of his most trusty servants. Meanwhile Galba, his general in Spain, on whom he blindly relied, was preparing to draw the sword against him.

In the year 68 Nero returned to Rome from Greece, urged by repeated warnings from his freedman Helius, whom he had left as governor of the city. He had amused the Greeks, he had pretended to compliment them with the gift of freedom: he had at least begun the useful work of cutting through the Isthmus of Corinth. On the other hand, he had robbed them of thousands of statues and artistic treasures for the decoration of his own capital. He had also offended them by his persecution at Rome of the stoic philosophers Seneca, Barea, Thrasea, and others. The gravity and earnestness of these men, in an age which had heard the early teachings of the gospel, began to draw men's minds away from the contemplation of the tyrant's greatness. Such a fact was sufficient to excite his jealousy against them, as against the Christians. Both philosophers and Christians were really quiet inoffensive subjects: both submitted patiently to the emperor's ruthless edicts; but while the sufferings of the men of science passed into oblivion, those of the men of faith left a burning memory behind them, which brought about in course of time the greatest of all social and moral revolutions.

Nero returned to find his capital rebuilt and beautified in Grecian style, and to occupy his splendid palace, his golden house as it was called, which extended its luxurious precincts not only over the Palatine, but over portions of the Cælian and Esquiline as well. Gardens, lakes, baths, pleasure grounds, were included in the imperial domain, with bridges and galleries to connect the various mansions. 'Now at last,' said Nero,

'I am lodged as a man should be,' and the saying was remembered against him.

Meanwhile plots were rife in the armies of Spain and Gaul, and in the city the temper of the nobles was gloomy, that of the mob uncertain.

The emperor returned in excellent spirits on account of the favourable oracle obtained by him at Delphi. 'Beware!' said the prophetess, 'of the seventy-third year.' To a youth of thirty such a warning seemed to promise a long career. It proved to have another and a fatal meaning. He entered Naples, Antium, and Rome in a succession of triumphs, but only to hear the news that a revolt was imminent. Galba, the governor of Hither Spain, was in league with Vindex of Farther Gaul. Galba had his omens too. In his childhood the great Augustus had let fall to him the words, 'You too shall some day taste of empire.' He was now in his seventy-third year. It was upon Vindex that Nero first fixed his attention. He called upon Virginius to lead the legions of Germania against him. The soldiers were loyal, though their general was not; they cut the legions of Vindex to pieces, and the rebel leader perished with his troops. Then they changed their minds, and proposed to raise their own commander to the purple, but Virginius preferred to follow in the wake of Galba, and thus the two great provinces of the West prepared to march against Rome.

Some months elapsed before the legions of Gaul and Spain could reach the heart of Italy. Nero seemed incapable of devising any serious defence; and during this period of suspense displayed the contemptible weakness of his character. When the danger became imminent, he tore his hair and robes and cried aloud in abject terror. Abandoned by all men, he had no resource left but suicide; no guard or gladiator could be found to pierce his breast; even his casket, which contained the poison supplied to him by Locusta, had been stolen. When night came on, he took horse with one or two attendants and escaped from the city to the neighbouring villa of his freedman Phaon. Here he lingered a few hours in utter prostration of spirit, when news arrived that the senate, on hearing of his flight, had proclaimed him a public enemy and sentenced him to a shameful death. Taking two daggers from his breast, he tried again and again to nerve himself to the fatal deed; but it was not till the sound of horses' hoofs was heard, and the

messengers of death were plainly closing upon him, that he placed a weapon to his breast and bade his slave Epaphroditus drive it home. The corpse was imperfectly consumed on the spot, and the remains afterwards buried in the Domitian gardens on the Pincian. It is recorded as a striking circumstance that even such a monster as Nero found some unknown hands to strew flowers upon his urn.

Nero perished on June 9, 68 (U.C. 821), at the age of thirty years and six months, in the fourteenth year of his principate. His child by Poppæa had died in infancy, and a later marriage had proved unfruitful. With him the stock of the Julii, refreshed as it had been by grafts from the Octavii, the Claudii, and the Domitii, became extinct. Each of the six Cæsars had married repeatedly, Claudius as often as six times; many of these unions had been fruitful, yet no descendant of any survived. A large proportion of them had fallen victims to political jealousy. Such was the price paid by the emperor's family for their splendid inheritance. The empire, however, had enjoyed, for a hundred years, immunity from civil discord and promiscuous bloodshed, till the secret was discovered that a prince could be created elsewhere than at Rome, and from this time the succession of the Roman emperors was most commonly effected by the distant legions, and seldom without violence and slaughter.

CHAPTER LVIII.

CONTEST FOR THE EMPIRE DURING EIGHTEEN MONTHS. GALBA, OTHO, AND VITELLIUS, SUCCEED EACH OTHER. VESPASIAN ACKNOWLEDGED EMPEROR.

SERVIUS SULPICIUS GALBA had been proclaimed imperator by the legions in Spain on April 13, almost two months before the actual fall of Nero. On hearing of the emperor's death he advanced to Narbo, where he met the envoys charged by the consuls and the senate to acknowledge his claim to empire. Competitors indeed started up in various quarters, and among them, Nymphidius, the prefect of the prætorians, but none

of them could make head against the fortunes of Galba, who assumed the title of Cæsar, and proclaimed himself the successor of the great Julius. He entered Rome as a victorious general on January 1 of the following year. U.C. 822. A.D. 69.

Galba was a man of ancient family, a successful soldier, and a strict disciplinarian, but he possessed no grace of manner to persuade, nor force of genius to command. He felt insecure of the obedience of the great proconsuls, with their numerous legions posted on the Rhine and the Euphrates. He therefore, with the help of some of the chief citizens, who went through the form of an election, associated with himself in power Piso Licinianus, a noble of distinction. The new Cæsar, however, was as austere and unpopular as Galba himself, and the emperor's parsimony towards the soldiers, who expected a liberal donative, grievously disappointed them.

No man in Rome was so mortified by Piso's elevation as Otho. This noble, whom Nero had removed to Lusitania when he took from him his wife Poppæa, had re-entered Rome in Galba's train.

He at once took advantage of the discontent which was rife among the troops, and as early as January 14, the fifth day after Piso's election, his intrigues had so far succeeded, that the prætorians were prepared to carry him to their camp at nightfall, and present him to the people as the choice of the soldiers in the morning. But Otho acted with more deliberation. On the morning of the 15th Galba was sacrificing before the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, when the aruspex informed him that the signs were inauspicious and portended a foe to his household. Otho was standing by and accepted the words as an omen. He quitted the emperor's side, and descended into the Roman Forum. Here he was met by a handful of soldiers, who hailed him as imperator, and with drawn swords bore him to the prætorian camp. The revolt was at once complete.

Galba had not yet finished his sacrifice when the report of the mutiny reached him.

Hasty measures were taken to ascertain the fidelity of the cohort on guard, and of the German and Illyrian troops quartered in the Campus and the city. Both soldiers and people appeared to be indifferent and indisposed to arm either for or

against the imperator. Galba turned irresolutely from one to another of his advisers. At last he sent Piso before him to the Forum. Presently a report was spread that Otho had been slain by the prætorians. One of the guards waved a bloody sword, exclaiming that it was he who had killed Otho. 'Comrade,' said the old man, 'who commanded you?' The words were treasured up as worthy of a Roman imperator, but they struck no chord of loyalty among the soldiers or the people. By the time that Galba had overtaken Piso in the Forum, he was met by the tumultuous band of the prætorians advancing with Otho in their midst. A single cohort surrounded Galba, but they quickly made common cause with their comrades. The emperor's litter was overturned at the Curtian pool beneath the Capitol, and there Galba was hacked to pieces. The murder of Piso soon followed, though for a moment he made a brave defence, and forced his way into the temple of Vesta, where, however, he found no secure asylum. The prætorians, fully sensible of their own importance, demanded to choose their own prefects. The Empire had in fact become a military republic.

The sudden fall of this unfortunate ruler must have caused great disappointment to all the more sober citizens. Such among them as were superior to the popular illusion in favour of a prince of the Julian race, to which a kind of divine right seemed already to attach, might well have imagined that one of the most able and experienced of their military chiefs would have held sway over the people and the legions with a firm and equal hand. The men who now governed the provinces, nobles by birth, senators in rank, judges and administrators as well as captains by office, represent the highest and largest training of the Roman character, for they combined a wide experience of men and affairs with the feelings of a high-born aristocracy and the education of polished gentlemen. They were conquerors, but they were also organisers. They were the true promoters of the Roman civilisation which has left its impress upon Europe for so many centuries. The citizens felt assured that it must be through personal mismanagement that Galba, the representative of this class, had failed to command success. Tacitus, speaking solemnly in the name of his countrymen, after summing up his many excellent qualities, declares that all men would have pronounced him fit to rule had he but never

ruled. Undoubtedly, he should have condescended to bribe the soldiers at the outset; this would have given him a breathing time, and afforded the only chance of controlling them. His successors took care not to fall into the same error. Some failed notwithstanding, but others succeeded in consequence. Meanwhile the legions in Gaul and on the Rhine, under the command of Valens, Cæcina, and Vitellius, had already refused the military oath to Galba at the opening of the year. Vitellius was put forward as their candidate. The other chiefs of the army acquiesced in his superior claims and consented to act as his lieutenants, and it was resolved at once to march upon Rome. Valens and Cæcina, as bolder and better captains, led the advance. Vitellius delayed his progress till he was assured of the adhesion of the Narbonensis and Aquitania to his cause. Otho, to whom the senate had already taken the oath of fidelity, on hearing of the defection of Vitellius, offered to satisfy all his claims, and even to share the empire with him. This offer Vitellius had the spirit to refuse.

As soon as it became evident that the empire must be decided by the sword, Otho quitted Rome at the head of all the forces he could muster. He encountered the army of Cæcina as they were marching across the Cisalpine, and inflicted a severe check upon them. But when Valens, coming from the Western Alps, effected his junction with them, the two commanders assumed an attitude of defiance, and challenged Otho to a decisive battle at Bedriacum, near the confluence of the Adda and the Po. After a resolute and bloody contest the victory remained with the Vitellians, whereupon the Othonians promptly admitted them to their camp and made common cause with them. The position of Otho, who was surrounded by a band of faithful followers, might still not be desperate. But he determined to refrain from further resistance, and, hopeless as he was of preserving his life from his enemies, he sacrificed it with his own hand. Vitellius was lazily descending the Saone in a barge to avoid the fatigue of marching. At Lugdunum he met Valens and Cæcina returned victorious from the Cisalpine, and thereupon he assumed the ensigns of empire. Some cruel executions followed, but not many. The Romans, indeed, gave him little credit for generosity, and insisted that his clemency was merely the indifference of a gross debauchee, who cared for nothing but his gluttonous gratifications. As he

marched slowly along, all the country round was swept for delicacies for his table. But his edicts at least were moderate and popular. He waived for the present the title of Augustus, and positively refused that of Cæsar. He directed the diviners, the favourites of Otho and Nero, to be expelled from Italy, and forbade the Roman knights to disgrace their order by fighting in the arena. It was acknowledged that his wife Galeria and his mother Sextilia conducted themselves in their high positions with noble simplicity. During his advance into Italy he associated with himself Virginius, the most generous Roman of his day, who had openly espoused his cause. Yet the Romans were slow to forgive the victor in a battle against Romans. They declared that when he reached Bedriacum he showed no remorse at the death of so many of his countrymen. At last he would have entered the city, cloaked and booted, in the garb of war, at the head of his conquering troops; but from this atrocity he was dissuaded, and at the Milvian Bridge he laid down his military ensigns, and traversed the streets in the civil prætexta, the soldiers following, but with sheathed swords.

Thus far the armies of the East had taken no part in the contest. They were fully occupied in watching the Parthians, in controlling the Egyptians, and in suppressing the revolt which in the last year of Nero's reign had broken out in Palestine.

Mucianus was proconsul of Syria. Second to him in command, but held in no less honour by the soldiers, was T. Flavius Vespasianus, a plebeian by birth, who with his son Titus was actively employed in Palestine. Both these generals had nominally acquiesced in the claims of Galba, of Otho, of Vitellius, in succession, but had given them no active support. Vespasian was inspired with a fanatical belief in his own good fortune, and under the influence of oriental diviners became filled with the idea that he was destined for empire. Mucianus conceded to him the first place and lent him all his influence. On July 1, the soldiers proclaimed him imperator, to which the titles of Cæsar and Augustus were speedily added. Mucianus now undertook to lead one division into Italy; Vespasian remained for a time in Syria to maintain the frontiers and concert alliances; to Titus was entrusted the conduct of the war in Palestine.

U.C. 822, A.D. 69.

Mucianus advanced slowly, no preparations having been

made in advance. He was joined by three Illyrian legions, who recognised in him the avenger of Otho the friend of Nero. The seeds of further defection were sown by letters to the troops in Spain, in Gaul, and in Britain.

At the moment that the Syrian legions were proclaiming Vespasian, Vitellius was making his entry as emperor into Rome. So far as he took any part in public affairs, his behaviour seems to have been modest and becoming. But he left the real government to be managed by Valens and Cæcina with gross oppression and extortion, while he surrendered himself wholly to the vilest debauchery. Within the few months of his power he spent nine hundred millions of sesterces (seven millions of pounds sterling) in vulgar and brutal sensuality. The police of the city was neglected. The soldiers, uncontrolled, inflicted great hardships on the citizens. The freedmen, Asiaticus and Polycletus, became powers in the state. The degradation of Rome was complete: never before had she sunk so low in luxury and licentiousness. Three legions of Vespasian had crossed the Alps under Antonius Primus, who led the van of Mucianus' army. Valens and Cæcina, with a powerful force, were despatched to oppose him. But Primus confidently challenged them to the combat and defeated them on the plains of Bedriacum. Cremona fell into his hands and was given over to plunder and burning.

Vitellius was still at Rome grovelling in his beastly indulgences, refusing to credit the account of his disasters, but wreaking his fears and jealousies upon the best of the nobles within his reach. The Flavian generals sent him back their prisoners, that he might learn the truth from their own mouths. Vitellius saw, interrogated, and straightway slaughtered them. At last he quitted the city at the head of the prætorians. Primus crossed the Apennines to encounter him, while the populations of Central Italy rose against him. The two armies confronted one another in the valley of the Nar, but the Vitellians yielded without a blow. Terms were offered by Primus which were confirmed by Mucianus and greedily accepted by the defenceless emperor, who consented to retire quietly into private life. But in an evil moment he was persuaded to return to Rome, and there, at the head of a desperate faction, he attacked the adherents of Vespasian under his brother Sabinus and drove them into the Capitol. An assault followed, in the

course of which fire was freely used, and the most august sanctuary of the Roman people was burnt to the ground. Vitellius watched the struggle from the palace opposite, the people from the Forum and Velabrum beneath. The citizens were keenly reminded of the sack of Rome by the Gauls, for the soldiers of Vitellius came from Gaul, and were mostly of Gaulish extraction. At length these Gauls and Germans burst in with yells of triumph and put the Flavian defenders to the sword. But Domitian, the younger son of Vespasian, who had taken refuge in the holy precincts, contrived to slip away in disguise. The Flavian legions, under Mucianus and Antonius Primus, were now steadily advancing upon the city. One last effort was made by the Vitellian soldiers and the rabble of the city to resist them, but in vain. The victors entered pell-mell with the vanquished, for the gates of Rome now stood always open; and the combat was renewed from street to street, the populace looking gaily on, applauding or hooting as in the theatre, and helping to drag the fugitives from the shops and taverns for slaughter. Rome had witnessed the conflicts of armed men in the streets under Sulla and Cinna, but never before such a hideous mixture of levity and ferocity.

Through all these horrors the Flavians forced their way, and drove the Vitellians to their last stronghold, the camp of the prætorians. A fierce conflict ensued. The assailants had brought with them the engines requisite for a siege. They cleared the battlements with catapults, raised mounds to the level of the ramparts, and applied torches to the gates. Then, bursting into the camp, they put every man still surviving to the sword. Vitellius, on the taking of the city, had escaped from the palace to a private dwelling on the Aventine; but under some restless impulse he returned and roamed through his deserted halls, dismayed at the solitude and silence, yet shrinking from every sound and the presence of a human being. At last he was discovered, half-hidden behind a curtain, and ignominiously dragged forth. With his hands bound, his dress torn, he was hurried along, amidst the scoffs of the multitude, and exposed to the insolence of the passing soldiery. Wounded and bleeding, he was urged on at the point of the lance; his head was kept erect by a sword held beneath to compel him to show himself, and to witness the demolition of his own statues. At last, after suffering every form of insult, he was despatched

with many wounds at the Gemoniæ, to which he had been thus brutally dragged. The death of Vitellius finally cleared the way for Vespasian, to whom, though still far distant, the senators decreed all the honours and prerogatives of empire. Primus and Mucianus adhered faithfully to him, and paid their court to his son Domitian as his acknowledged representative. Vespasian and Titus were appointed consuls at the commencement of the new year, and to a civil strife of eighteen months soon succeeded a stable pacification. A.U. 823, A.D. 70.

CHAPTER LIX.

AFFAIRS IN BRITAIN. THE GAULISH REVOLT. DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS.

Our attention has been for some time confined to events whose interest centres in Rome itself. We must now make a short digression to notice three episodes of frontier fighting—the further subjugation of the Britons, the suppression of the mutiny of the Gaulish tribes, and the final conquest of Judæa.

1. After the defeat of Caractacus, the southern part of Britain, from the Stour in the east to the Exe and Wye in the west, formed a compact and organised province, the government of which was directed from Camulodunum (Colchester).

Londinium, though neither colonised nor fortified, had already become a great centre of continental trade, from which corn and cattle and handsome slaves were exported in exchange for the manufactures of the Belgian and Rhenish cities. Roads of earlier than Roman construction traversed the country from Dover and Richborough to Seaton and Brancaster, to the Severn, the Dee, and the Northern Ouse, and all of them passed through Londinium. Four legions occupied the country. The Second, which, under the command of Vespasian, had subdued the south-west, was quartered at Caerleon, on the Usk. The Ninth kept guard over the independent tribe of the Iceni at Brancaster, on the Stour. The Twentieth, at Chester, watched the Brigantes, who maintained their independence in the North. The Fourteenth was engaged in carrying on the conquest of North Wales. Numbers of Druids, escaped from France,

together with their British colleagues, retreated before the conquerors into the sacred isle of Mona (Anglesea).

The Fourteenth legion, led by Suetonius Paulinus, having reached Segontium (Caernarvon), prepared rafts to carry the infantry over the Menai Strait, while the cavalry swam their horses across the channel. The Britons made a gallant resistance in defence of their liberty and their faith, but they were massacred in numbers by the Roman soldiery, and the Druidical worship was finally abolished.

A.D. 61, U.C. 814.

Suetonius was suddenly recalled by news of disaster in his rear. The Iceni, headed by their Queen Boadicea, who burned to avenge the insults offered by Romans to herself and her daughters, had burst in great multitudes across the Stour, had sacked and burned both Camulodunum and Verulamium, in Hertfordshire, putting the colonists to the sword; and when Suetonius appeared upon the scene he was unable to save Londinium from the like fate. The Britons vastly outnumbered the Roman legions, and, flushed with conquest, for some time harassed them severely. Suetonius, confident in the discipline of his troops, coolly watched his enemies as they encumbered themselves with plunder, and offered them battle on ground of his own choosing. The event proved that his confidence was well founded; despite the eloquence and courage of Boadicea, the barbarians wavered and broke before the steady onset of the legions; 80,000 of them were slain; their queen committed suicide, and the revolt of the Iceni was subdued.

A.D. 61, U.C. 814.

This outbreak had cost the Roman colony dear both in wealth and numbers. It is said that 70,000 of them perished. But these losses were quickly repaired. The Roman yoke, now firmly fixed, brought peace and prosperity to the country, whose wealth of flocks and mines was rapidly developed. Before the death of Nero, the Roman province extended to the Mersey and the Trent. The Britons had fought bravely for their freedom, but they were quick to perceive the advantages of a higher civilisation, and submitted more readily than many other nations to their Roman conquerors.

2. We may now turn to the mutiny of the Gaulish auxiliaries. A large portion of the upper classes of Gaul had been thoroughly incorporated into the Roman Empire and were reckoned as Roman citizens. From among these natives and

the Roman colonists, the legions were recruited which garrisoned the country, and watched the frontier of the Rhine. A yet larger portion of the population were still looked upon as subjects and Gauls, and from this class auxiliary troops were levied, which were brigaded with the legions, but occupied an inferior position. During the civil wars which followed the death of Nero, both Galba and Vitellius had drawn largely on the strength of the legions in Gaul; the auxiliaries in consequence found themselves in a great preponderance of numbers over the regular troops. Advantage was taken of this circumstance by Civilis, a Romanised Batavian, to seduce his countrymen from their allegiance, and incite them to claim the right of choosing an emperor for themselves. The legions on the Rhine adhered to the cause of Vitellius. Civilis and his Batavians declared for Vespasian, and the Gaulish auxiliaries throughout the Rhenish camps joined their forces to his. It soon appeared, however, that the movement was in reality directed towards the liberation of the country. Civilis himself was put forward as the chief of an independent empire. The steadiness with which the legions, weakened and ill-commanded as they were, resisted this mutiny is well worthy of notice. Outnumbered in the field, they shut themselves up in strong camps and stood a siege. They were relieved, and before long again overmatched by the mutineers; but in the face of heavy odds they held the country bravely for Rome. As soon as Vespasian was firmly seated on the throne, he despatched Mucianus and Domitian with supports to these brave legions, but even before the succour reached them, they had mastered their enemy and driven the Gaulish hero out of his island in the Rhine into the German forests. Classicus and Tutor, two of the native chiefs, were slain. Civilis, however, made terms, and was allowed to return and live peaceably at home. Julius Sabinus, who claimed descent from the first Cæsar, after living for nine years in woods and caves, threw himself upon the clemency of Vespasian, but was at once put to death. Thus ended the last national effort of the Gauls. It was strictly confined to the soldiery, and never stirred the mass of the people. Its leaders were all officers in the Roman army whose aim was self-aggrandisement. The two great elements of Gaulish nationality, the nobility and the priesthood, had been absorbed and assimilated by the Empire. The nobles were content to become centurions and tribunes;

the Druids rejoiced in the titles and pensions of augurs and flamens. We shall hear no more either of one or of the other.

3. Contemporary with these events in the West was the last desperate struggle of the Jews for their national independence, which issued in its final extinction by Titus.

Under the first five of the Cæsars, Judæa, though subject to the empire, generally enjoyed a semblance of independent government under its native princes of the family of Herod, passing, however, at times under the direct control of Roman officers styled procurators who represented the authority of the governor of the province of Syria. After the death of Herod Agrippa, A.D. 44, the country was permanently annexed to Syria, and was governed by a procurator, who resided at Cæsarea. The Jews were at this time in a ferment of political and religious excitement. Many false Christs appeared and drew the people after them. The nation was pervaded by an uneasy expectation of some great impending change. Caligula nearly caused an outbreak by his command that his own statue should be erected in the temple; his death occurred in time to avert a catastrophe. Claudius showed more respect for their religious scruples; but the violent temper of the Jews rendered the task of government a most difficult one, and many oppressions and cruelties were exercised by the local governor without the emperor's sanction. At last, under the harsher government of Nero, the spirit of disaffection grew to a head, and burst into open rebellion. The fanatical pride of the people, stimulated by their priests, asserted itself in a tone of defiance which Rome would never brook, and which required to be put down with a strong hand. Some there were no doubt who counselled moderation and submission, but the general feeling was one of more bitter and persistent hostility than Rome had anywhere else encountered.

The resources of the Jews were more formidable than might be supposed, judging from their small extent of territory, which scarcely exceeded that of Belgium or Portugal in the present day. But the population was unusually dense, and had been exempted from the military levies which had exhausted many provinces. The flower of their youth had been trained indeed to arms, but only to serve under native leaders upon their own soil. Armed troops of brigands were at hand to swell the ranks of a national army. A sworn band of assassins, the Sicarii, the

men of the dagger, urged their desperate measures upon the priests and nobles on peril of their lives. The names of Maccabæus, of David, and of Joshua were invoked with genuine enthusiasm.

Casting aside the authority of the procurator in Judæa and of Agrippa the younger in Ituræa, the Sanhedrim constituted itself a priestly and revolutionary government for the whole of Palestine. They divided the country into seven military districts, the command in Galilee being entrusted to Josephus, the historian. He represented himself as an able commander, but his countrymen have regarded him with good reason as a traitor to their cause. Vespasian was the captain to whom the conduct of the war was entrusted by Nero. Josephus claims to have held Iotapata against him for forty-seven days, but the Jewish historian was captured in the final assault, and thenceforth became the flatterer, and perhaps the instrument, of the Romans.

During two campaigns which followed the fall of Iotapata, Vespasian slowly overran and ravaged the whole of Palestine without attempting to attack Jerusalem. During the struggle for the succession in Rome he withdrew to Cæsarea, and from the day when he was saluted emperor by the troops, A.D. 69, he ceased to direct the affairs of Palestine, which were committed to the charge of his son Titus. In the year 70, Titus advanced with four legions and numerous auxiliaries—a force of 80,000 men—upon the devoted city. The defences of Jerusalem, both natural and artificial, were remarkably strong. Behind them stood 24,000 trained warriors, and a host of irregular combatants; but the hundreds of thousands of worshippers assembled for the Passover, and shut up within the walls, were an element of weakness rather than of strength in the defence.

A yet more potent source of weakness lay in the fierce factions by which the Jews were distracted. Hitherto the moderate party, headed by Ananus the high-priest, had controlled the city. In this great emergency all the fierce and fanatical spirits, known as the party of the Zealots, flocked in from the country, with Eleazar at their head. They insulted and threatened all who were favourable to a compromise with Rome, and in a short time made themselves masters of the temple and its strong enclosure, and forced the whole people to submit to their dictation.

The Zealots themselves were further split into three factions.

Eleazar, at the head of the residents in Jerusalem, held the inner enclosure of the temple. The more moderate John of Giscala was lodged in the outer precinct. Simon Bargiora, with a third army, undertook the defence of the ramparts. Through the assassination of Eleazar, John became master of the entire temple. Between him and Simon there still reigned mutual jealousy and defiance.

Titus advanced from the north and planted his camp on the ridge of Scopus. Provided with powerful engines and siege artillery, he proceeded methodically to break down the successive defences; but so energetic was the resistance offered, that he did not effect a lodgment within the first wall without heavy loss. All attempts at conciliation were savagely rejected, and the besiegers blockaded the second circuit and the fortress of Antonia. Famine soon prevailed among the Jews, who suffered the direst horrors. The terrors of the people were excited by the report of prodigies. The fanatic Hanan traversed the streets crying, 'Woe to Jerusalem!' till at last, exclaiming 'Woe to me also!' he fell by a blow from a Roman catapult. The Romans affirmed that the gates of the temple had burst open of their own accord, and a voice more than human had been heard exclaiming, 'Let us depart hence!'

The tower of Antonia fell, and the temple became untenable. John and Simon, united in their last danger, retired into the upper city on Zion, breaking down the causeway which connected it with the temple on Moriah. The temple itself was stormed and, contrary to the orders of Titus, destroyed by fire. Josephus was now sent to parley with the besieged, but was spurned by them as a renegade. Titus himself tried in vain to bring them to terms. Such clemency was unexampled; but his patience was now exhausted, and he vowed to destroy the entire city. The attack proceeded. Thousands of Jews fell in unavailing sallies; thousands died of famine; the remainder were captured and sold into slavery. The two leaders endeavoured to escape into the country by rock-hewn galleries underneath the city. They failed, and were captured. John was imprisoned for life. Simon was reserved to grace the conqueror's triumph. Titus, whom the soldiers had saluted Imperator, hastened to Rome in fear lest his father's jealousy might be excited against him. But Vespasian was a man of sense and feeling, and the confidence between father

and son was never shaken. The destruction of Jerusalem, the subjugation of Palestine, redounded to the glory and aggrandisement equally of both.

CHAPTER LX.

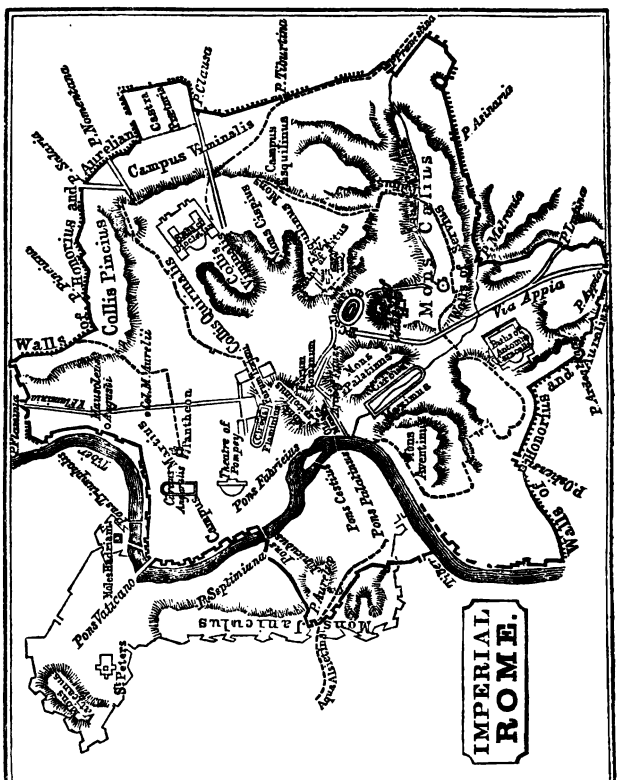
THE FLAVIAN EMPERORS—VESPASIAN, TITUS, DOMITIAN.

THE accession of Vespasian, the head of the Flavian house, marks an epoch in Roman history. The first six emperors born or adopted into the family of the Julii, might boast of blue patrician blood illustrated from ancient times by consuls and imperators and other leaders of men. Even after the death of Nero, a Sulpicius, a Salvius, or a Vitellius, if he had been personally successful, might have transferred to his own family that halo of divinity by which the Julii had seemed to reign by right divine; for they all belonged to the class to which the tradition of power attached in Rome. Vespasian, on the other hand, was a man of low birth. The Flavii were not only plebeians, but plebeians whose gens had never been ennobled by a single distinguished ancestor. Vespasian had risen to eminence by his own prudence and ability, and was now thrust upon the astonished senate by the will of the soldiers. The people welcomed the choice; and the fortunate accident which made the Flavii the defenders of the Capitol when assailed by impious adversaries, might seem to sanctify the new dynasty in the eyes of a superstitious people, and prepared the way for the deification of Vespasian after his death, and the ascription of divine honours to Domitian even during his lifetime.

The new emperor, mature in years, and accustomed to simple habits of life, set an example of frugality to the reckless spendthrifts of the Roman aristocracy which happily they were not slow to follow. And thus the nobles, whose grandfathers had been demoralised by the plunder of Greece and Asia, became once more reconciled in their way of living to the mass of humbler citizens.

The triumphs of her arms in Britain, on the Rhine, and in Palestine, had placed Rome at the summit of her power, and a happy augury for the future might be drawn from the restora-

tion of her great national sanctuary on the Capitol, which it was given to Vespasian to undertake and carry out. The demolition of Nero's golden house added still further to his popularity. On one part of its site he erected the splendid baths to which Titus



gave his name; on another rose the vast Flavian amphitheatre known as the Colosseum, probably from the colossal image of Nero which stood before its entrance. The arch of Titus, which still commemorates his conquest of Judæa, was not completed

[1] dedicated till the accession of Domitian.

During the ten years of Vespasian's tranquil reign, he applied himself to the restoration of the finances which had been squandered by Nero. Loyally supported by the legions and their officers, he compelled his troops to rest content with moderate rewards. As a tribute to the memory of Galba, the Latin right was conceded to the whole of Spain. On the other hand, Greece, which had been enfranchised by Nero, was again reduced to the condition of a taxable province. Many dependent kingdoms and republics in the East were absorbed into the empire. It need not surprise us that Vespasian was charged with parsimony and avarice, when we learn that he estimated the needs of the public treasury at four myriad millions of sesterces, or 320,000,000*l.*

Vespasian knew how to spend wisely as well as how to save. His vast constructions have already been mentioned, but he deserves especial credit as the first of Roman emperors who expended public money on a system of national education. He aimed at attaching the literary class to the empire, and the appointment of Quintilian, the rhetorician, to the consulship marks the increased estimation in which the class of teachers was held. It is to be regretted that he found it impossible to show similar favour to the philosophers of the Stoic and Cynic schools. Resenting the brutality of the soldiers, these men intrigued against the government which rested on them for support. Vespasian revived against them the persecuting laws of the republic, and drove them out of the city; and his memory must always suffer for the execution of Helvidius Priscus, the great luminary of the Stoics.

At the ripe age of seventy, full of toils and honours, Vespasian died of natural decay, demanding in his last moments to be raised upright, as 'an imperator ought to die standing.' From the day when the legions in the East had saluted Titus by the title of imperator, his father had wisely admitted him to a substantial share of power. Titus in return had relieved him from some of the most dangerous and invidious tasks of government: he came to the undivided sovereignty not without a character, at least among the nobles, for craft and cruelty; but he was still the darling of the soldiers and a favourite with the people. He bore the reputation of a scholar and a refined thinker, and he is the hero of one of the very few love-romances of Roman history. His love for Bere-

U.C. 832, A.D. 79.

nice, sister of Agrippa, king of Chalcis, was returned by her, and she followed him to Rome in the expectation of becoming his wife; but the Roman prejudice against intermarriage with a foreigner was too strong to be disregarded, and the lovers were compelled reluctantly to part from one another.

During his short reign Titus won the respect and affection of all classes, but especially of the nobles. To their grateful recollection we doubtless owe the preservation of his famous dictum that he had 'lost a day' when he had let twenty-four hours pass without the performance of some beneficent action. Two years after his accession he died of premature decline, and had no choice but to nominate his unworthy brother Domitian as his successor. Perhaps his early death saved him from the downward course which so many gallant princes had run before him. His profuse expenditure had already exhausted the treasures accumulated by Vespasian; and even Titus, 'the delight of the human race,' as he was fondly termed, could hardly have escaped the stain of cruelty in his efforts to replace them. This short principate witnessed two grave calamities. A fire, scarcely less disastrous than that in the reign of Nero, swept over the city, damaging the new temple on the Capitol, and destroying many public buildings which had escaped the earlier conflagration. Still more renowned in history is the great eruption of Vesuvius, by which the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii were destroyed; the one buried under a flood of molten lava, the other under a shower of burning ashes. For ages all memory of these buried cities passed out of men's minds, till in the middle of the last century their site was rediscovered; and the excavations carried on since that time, and still actively proceeding, have brought to light innumerable objects of interest which illustrate the arts, the commerce, and the daily life of a civilisation long since passed away.

U.C. 833, A.D. 80.

U.C. 832, A.D. 79.

The first of the Flavian emperors had displayed, even upon the throne, the frugality, the simplicity, and the manly firmness which were characteristic of the yeomen of the Sabine hills. His sons were not proof against the seductions of a court and city life; and the younger of them, Domitian, who now assumed the imperial purple, showed a marked deterioration of character. His jealousy of the military renown of his father and brother failed to arouse him to deeds of warlike prowess; and though

a student during his years of obscurity, he never emulated his brother's fame as a scholar. A pedant and a disciplinarian towards the vices of others, he was cruel and licentious himself.

Domitian could not refuse to dedicate the Arch of Titus, which celebrated the conquest of Judæa by his father and brother, but he was bent on rivalling them in the admiration of the citizens and the adoration of the soldiers. Accordingly he put himself at the head of the legions on the Lower Danube, and took part in two campaigns against the Sarmatians and the Dacians. Whatever flatteries the court poets may have written, history is silent as to his exploits; one of his armies, we know, suffered a disastrous defeat; yet he gave himself the honour of a triumph and assumed the name of Germanicus.

Meantime his lieutenant in Britain, Agricola, was carrying the Roman eagles far beyond the limits of the Mersey and the Trent. Taking the command in the year 78, he completed the conquest of North Wales, and then advanced his camps to the line of the Tyne and the Solway. Here he was confronted by the wild and restless tribes of Caledonia, and in seven successive campaigns he reduced the country as far north as the Tay. At the same time his fleet explored the coast as far as Cape Wrath and proved that Britain was an island; while some of his land troops, from the Mull of Galloway, beheld the coast of Ireland a new region, which he was assured might be conquered by a single legion. So much success excited the jealousy of Domitian, and Agricola was recalled to Rome, where he lived in high honour with both prince and people for several years. A.D. 78, U.C. 831. A.D. 84, A.U. 857.

Domitian's vanity would not be satisfied without an arch of triumph to rival that of his brother. His colossal equestrian statue was already erected in front of his father's temple. The people at the same time demanded games and shows in increasing profusion. To meet all these expenses, in the absence of plunder from abroad, he was obliged to levy large gifts, under the name of golden crowns, on the nobles and provincials of the empire. Such a course of action produced its natural consequence, discontent, which culminated before long in insurrection. L. Antonius Saturninus, a descendant both of the triumvir and of the popular tribune, commanded two legions on the Rhine. He seduced his own soldiers, and made an alliance with the German tribes across the frontier. His plan was to

march on Rome in the winter season, and, trusting to the unpopularity of the emperor, to strike a blow for power. He was, however, quickly defeated and slain. Domitian, who had faced the emergency with courage, took steps to prevent the recurrence of such an attempt. He broke up the armies of the empire into smaller commands, and forbade the hoarding of any considerable sums of money in the military chests. At the same time he took the opportunity to wreak his vengeance by arbitrary executions upon all who had excited his suspicion.

In one respect it must be owned that Domitian's rule was directed, however inconsistently, to the good of the public. He was a disciplinarian, and he determined to try to reform the morals of his people. His religion was a vile superstition, but, such as it was, he was in earnest about it. He began by inquiring into the irregularities imputed to certain of the Vestal Virgins. Two of them were convicted, and mercifully allowed to take their own lives; a third, Cornelia, was condemned to suffer the full penalty of the law, that is to be walled up alive with only a crust of bread and a flask of water. With the same object, viz. to propitiate the divine patrons of marriage, he enforced the laws against adultery, and put some check upon the spread of disgusting forms of Oriental effeminacy. In spite of the fact that one of his own special favourites was the actor Paris, who was infamous for his dissolute life, the imperial reformer next directed his severities against the singers and dancers in the theatres. With the mimes, according to ancient precedent, were included the astrologers, and the same proscription was further extended to the philosophers, so that Apollonius of Tyana, the most noted moral teacher of his time, was expelled with others of his class from Italy. The Christians, whose progress among the upper classes was beginning to excite alarm, did not escape persecution. Flavius Clemens, a cousin of the emperor, was sentenced to death on a charge of Judaising; he has always been reckoned among the Christian martyrs.

Domitian teased and irritated all classes, and his cruelties were wont to be aggravated by a certain grim humour. He lived in constant fear of assassination, and surrounded himself with guards and informers; but all his precautions failed to secure him. A child is said to have found in his chamber the tablets on which he had designated the empress and some of his own household for death. A plot was

A.D. 96, A.U. 949.

at once formed in the palace, and the blow was struck by the freedman Stephanus. Thus the noblest blood of Rome was avenged by menials.

CHAPTER LXI.

EMPERORS APPOINTED BY THE SENATE—NERVA, TRAJAN, HADRIAN.

By the death of Domitian, the race of the Flavii expired, as that of the Julii had done before. No heir existed who could claim the empire as of right. The senate at once asserted its privilege of appointing to the vacant throne; and the elevation of M. Cocceius Nerva by the selection of the senate marks another important epoch in the history of the empire. Domitian was the last of the 'twelve Cæsars,' so called most likely because Suetonius composed the biographies of those twelve only. His successors continued to assume the title, but they held the office by a very different tenure. Nerva was not the creation of military power, nor the descendant of a line which owed its origin thereto. He was the nominee of the senate, and the first of five emperors selected by that body, who were the worthiest rulers Rome ever had, and who gave to the empire more happiness and prosperity than any others. Nerva too was not a native of Rome, nor even of Italy; his family had long been settled in Crete; and after him the emperors in long succession were of provincial if not foreign extraction.

Nerva began his reign by heaping indignation on the memory of the murdered emperor, and punishing the base instruments of his cruelty. The prætorians indeed demanded the sacrifice of Domitian's murderers, and Nerva, though he boldly resisted the cry of vengeance, found it impossible to shield them. As soon as their swords were sheathed, he determined to curb the pretensions of the soldiers by adopting as his heir and partner in the empire the best and bravest of his officers. M. Ulpius Trajanus was in command on the Rhine, but his name and character were well known. When Nerva mounted the Capitol and proclaimed his adoption, the senate acquiesced without a demur. The prætorian guards trembled before the legions of a resolute chief, and shrank back into their camp. The aged

Nerva, by this master stroke of policy, firmly established his authority, and continued to exercise it in dignified tranquillity, till death removed him after a short reign of sixteen months.

No one dreamt of opposing the lawful succession of Trajan. He belonged to a good old Roman family long settled in Spain, in which country he had been born. As a soldier and a provincial, he might be disposed to content himself with the command of the legions at a distance, and to leave the government of the city in the hands of the senate. So, doubtless, hoped the nobles, and so it proved to be. Trajan, in the full vigour of his age and confident in his own ability, had not yet reaped his laurels, but was eager to gain triumphs and annex provinces. He rekindled in the Romans the old spirit of conquest, and, cheered by their applause, devoted the greater part of his reign to two great enterprises, the subjugation of a vast territory beyond the Danube, and the overthrow of the Parthian empire on the Euphrates and the Tigris.

Trajan, on receiving the reins of power at Cologne, at once sent a promise to the senate that no member of that body should suffer capital punishment under his rule. Before quitting the province he secured the Rhenish frontier by establishing new colonies and military stations. He threw a bridge across the river at Mainz, and advanced the outposts of the empire to Höchst and Baden. He then repaired to Rome, and, as we learn from the courtly 'Panegyric' of Pliny, won the favour of all classes of the citizens by his gracious demeanour. So secure was he of the loyalty of the soldiers, that he ventured to reduce by one-half the customary largess. When he handed to the prefect of the prætorians the poniard which was the symbol of his office, he could boldly say, 'Use this for me, if I do well: if ill, against me.' The popularity of Trajan was already, during this brief sojourn, so unbounded, that the senate conferred upon him, in addition to the usual imperial titles, the transcendent appellation of 'Optimus,' the Best, a distinction which was never enjoyed by any other emperor.

Meanwhile the legions on the frontiers were longing for active warfare, and their imperator was as eager for fresh triumphs as themselves. But he determined not to meet the expenses of war by imposing fresh burdens of taxation on the citizens. His campaigns should be self supporting, and should enrich the treasury by adding new regions to the list of tributary

provinces. The Romans were still, as it proved, a martial nation, and well disposed to second the bold advance of Trajan. Between the Danube and the Carpathians lay the wild tract of mountain, plain, and forest known as Dacia, represented on the modern map by the countries of Hungary, Transylvania, and Roumania. The Dacian tribes were swayed by a single ruler, known to the Romans by the name or title of Decebalus. In the year 101 Trajan began the conquest of this region. Marshalling his forces at Sissek, on the Save, he descended the stream into the Danube. Along the bank of this great river he constructed a road, and at Severin he spanned the current with a solid bridge whose foundations may still at times be seen. At the end of two campaigns he had overrun much of the country, and had occupied the royal city, where he afterwards planted his colony of Ulpia Trajana. The hill fortress of Decebalus was stormed, and the conquered chief, together with his nobles, destroyed themselves. The column of Trajan still stands at Rome, and bears, in its bronze reliefs, the record of this conquest; around its base still stretches the open space of Trajan's Forum, and the ruins of the temple erected there at a later period for the worship of his divinity. Dacia was completely subjugated, and so effectually colonised by the Romans, that to this day the language of the people is substantially the Latin tongue.

A.D. 101, A.U. 854.

A.D. 104, A.U. 857.

On his return to Rome, A.D. 106, Trajan devoted himself to adorning the city and the empire with splendid constructions, defraying the expenses out of the tribute of his conquered province, and building not for himself but for his people. At Ancona the arch of Trajan still reminds the traveller that that chief port of the Adriatic was constructed by him. The port of Civita Vecchia is to this day sheltered by Trajan's mole; another of his works was the existing bridge over the Tagus at Alcantara. A writer three centuries later says that 'Trajan built the world over,' and Constantine compared him to a wall-flower because his name so often met the eye inscribed upon his buildings.

After an interval of eight years, devoted to works of peace and to the administration of a beneficent government, Trajan quitted the city for the East, to reduce the Parthians to submission. Chosroes, the Parthian ruler, alarmed by his advance, sent envoys to propitiate him, but the presents they bore were

rejected. At Antioch, delay was caused by a tremendous earthquake, in which vast numbers of people, including one of the Roman consuls, perished, and the emperor narrowly escaped destruction. After repairing the losses caused by this disaster, he led his legions to the frontier of Armenia, and summoned to his presence the usurper Parthamasiris. This prince was required to lay his diadem at the feet of Trajan, and formally to acknowledge that his kingdom belonged to Rome. After suffering grave indignities, he was dismissed, and, if the history may be trusted, was waylaid and murdered, to the disgrace of the emperor who gave the order.

Having thus settled the position of Armenia, Trajan advanced upon the Parthians by the same route which had proved fatal to Crassus, but, unlike the luckless triumvir, he drove the enemy before him, established himself firmly in the region of Adiabene, and before the end of the year 115 had constituted the new province of Assyria beyond the Tigris, and had justly earned the title of Parthicus.

The winter was passed at Nisibis or Edessa, and early in the spring of 116 the Roman army descended the Euphrates by water. The Parthian monarch fled into Media, and his capital, Ctesiphon, surrendered without a blow. Trajan advanced through Babylonia to the shores of the Persian Gulf, and longed to rival the achievements of Alexander. But the disturbed state of the country behind him convinced him that he had reached his limit. On his return march he stormed and destroyed Seleucia, and on reaching Ctesiphon placed a creature of his own on the throne of Parthia. Armenia and Mesopotamia, with some portion of Arabia, were reduced to the form of provinces; but they were never solidly incorporated with the empire, and before their conqueror had reached Antioch on his homeward march, they had already severed the unwelcome connection. Trajan had been wounded in an attack upon the little fortress of Atra, and did not live to see Rome again. He died in 117 at Selinus, in Cilicia, after a short illness. He had reached the age of 65, and had reigned nineteen years and a half. Though more of a rough soldier than a courtly scholar, his manners were kindly and gracious, and he has left a higher name than any of his predecessors in the purple for generosity and manliness of character. He deserved to be the favourite,

as he was, both of the nobles and of the people, both of the city and of the provinces.

Trajan's expedition to the East may very probably have been caused by the uneasiness of the rulers of the empire about the restless intrigues of the Jews, and a vague consciousness of the growing numbers of the Christians, who, for aught they knew, might be aiming in secret at political ends. After the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jewish hopes of a Messiah were carefully inquired into, and all who pretended to a descent from David were prosecuted. But the Jewish religion was still tolerated at Rome, and throughout the empire, as a national cult. The Christians, as professing an irregular and unrecognised creed, were outside the protection of the law, and during the Flavian period a wave of persecution passed over them. When, however, it became evident that these new sectaries cherished no schemes of rebellion, the authorities relaxed their severity and were content to require of them the acknowledgment that 'Cæsar was their master.'

During Trajan's reign, Pliny the younger was governor of Bithynia, and persons were often charged before him with the crime of being Christians. His practice was to question them, and if they boldly confessed the fact he considered it to be his plain duty to condemn them to death. Finding, however, that this treatment only increased their numbers, and convinced of the moral innocence of his victims, he wrote to the emperor for instructions on the subject. Trajan recommended mild measures, commanding that the Christians should not be sought for, and that denunciations of them, which emanated chiefly from the Jews, should be discouraged. Still, if any were accused, and professed their guilt, the majesty of the law must be upheld. Meantime multitudes of Jews as well as of Roman citizens continued to join the new religion. The East was rife with reports and expectations of a coming deliverer. The conflagrations at Rome and the fatal eruption of Vesuvius added to the alarm produced by the Christian prophecies of an approaching destruction of the world by fire. The claim of the Christians to superior morality excited the passions of the populace, which is always intolerant of such professions. The manifest fact that a secret association, uniting in its bonds numbers of persons of every class, was advancing in power and organisation disturbed the minds of the rulers, who were accustomed ruthlessly

to suppress every combination of the kind. All these influences seem to have been kindled into fierce activity by the coincidence of a destructive earthquake with the emperor's visit to Antioch. The fanaticism and terror of the sufferers broke forth against the Christians, and Trajan stained his good name by encouraging a cruel persecution which became memorable for the martyrdom of the Christian bishop Ignatius in the arena of Antioch.

At the same time the Jews, driven from their own land, and scattered throughout the East, were intriguing in every city, in Alexandria, in Antioch, even in distant Seleucia, striving to unite their own people in a combined movement against the might of Rome, stirring up Parthians, Armenians, and Arabians against the common enemy. All these schemes had been disconcerted by Trajan's sudden and vigorous expedition; but his conquests, though brilliant, had lacked stability, and it became an embarrassing problem for his successor whether to maintain or to relinquish them.

On Trajan's death without issue, the empress Plotina at once announced his chosen heir to be P. Ælius Hadrianus, his cousin, and, like himself, of Spanish birth. Both senate and people acquiesced in the choice, for Hadrian was distinguished for virtue and ability. The remains of Trajan were conveyed to Rome and buried beneath his column. Hadrian
A.D. 117. lingered in the East to pacify the disaffected provinces, and wisely determined to return to the policy of Augustus, to restrict the limits of the empire, and to abandon the recent conquests. Then he returned to Rome to receive the homage of the senate, and began his reign in a spirit of moderation and liberality.

Full of activity both of mind and body, Hadrian visited every province of the empire, commanding the legions in person wherever danger threatened, and leaving marks of his progress in public buildings and in improved government. His first expedition was to the new Dacian province, which was threatened by encroaching tribes of Sarmatians. At the head of his legions he defeated these barbarians, but deemed it wiser, after his first success, to withdraw behind the Danube, and
A.D. 118. even to break down Trajan's bridge. At the outset of this campaign a conspiracy was formed against him, and he was obliged, notwithstanding his promise to shed no senators' blood, to put it down with severity.

After a short interval spent at Rome, Hadrian visited the North of Britain, where the Caledonian tribes were giving much trouble. Here he built roads and military stations, fortified the country from sea to sea between the camps of Agricola on the Tyne and the Solway, bridged the Tyne at Newcastle, and fixed the provincial government at York. The mineral wealth of the North of England was then attracting numerous settlers, as it has done again so conspicuously in this nineteenth century. From Britain he passed on through Gaul and Spain, and crossed the Mediterranean to quiet some disturbances in Mauretania. Thence he turned his steps to the extreme eastern frontier, where the restless Parthians were again menacing war. In a personal interview he prevailed on Chosroes to leave the empire at peace. Journeying homeward through Asia Minor and Greece, he stayed long at Athens; A.D. 131. and after visiting Rome and Carthage, returned once more to the East—to Athens, Antioch, and Alexandria.

In the course of sixty years since the campaigns of Vespasian and Titus, the Jews in Palestine had increased in numbers, and they now broke into a fierce insurrection headed by Bar-Cochebas, the 'Son of the Star.' Hadrian had inquired curiously into many religions, that of the Jews among others. They had hoped he had become a proselyte, and they now denounced him as an apostate; but he ruthlessly A.D. 133, put down their rebellion, slaughtered their people A.U. 886. in vast numbers, and planted the colony of Ælia Capitolina on the site of their sacred city.

Hadrian distinguished between the Jews and the Christians. The latter he recognised as loyal citizens, and discouraged the local persecutions to which they were exposed. During his sojourn at Athens, they ventured to approach him as a seeker after truth; and he listened graciously to the apologies of Quadratus and Aristides, who were famous for their wisdom and learning.

At Athens Hadrian had shown himself an intelligent inquirer into the highest questions of human speculation. At Alexandria he appeared rather as an explorer of curiosities. Egypt, the granary of Rome, had been jealously guarded by the emperors as their own special province. No Roman of rank might even visit it without express permission. This prohibition served but to whet the curiosity of the Romans about

that land of mystery. The splendid ruins of antiquity; the distant past from which that civilisation had descended; the strange worship of bulls, and cats, and crocodiles;—all these might well excite the interest of intelligent travellers. The emperor examined all the wonders of Egypt, visited the pyramids, inscribed his name upon the vocal head of Memnon, and expressed his delight and admiration.

But the people of Alexandria were wont to mock at Romans and other strangers as children of a younger civilisation than their own; and they showed little respect for Hadrian. When his favourite Antinous perished by drowning in the Nile, they outraged the grieving emperor with their ribald scoffs. He refrained with difficulty from chastising the offending city, but quitted the country in disgust. At Antioch he met with no better treatment, being exposed to the gibes and insinuations of a frivolous people; and he showed his resentment by adorning the city with no public buildings, such as he had lavished on the places which had entertained him on his travels. From Antioch he repaired to Athens and remained there, enjoying its arts and sciences for some length of time.

Hadrian returned to Rome in 134, and began at once to adorn the city with splendid buildings. The temple of Venus and Rome, now but the fragment of a ruin, was the grandest temple in the city. But his most magnificent work was his own *moles* or mausoleum, whose solid mass is still conspicuous in the castle of St. Angelo. When first erected it had far more of architectural ornament than now. Tier over tier of columns graced its sides, and above it soared a gilded dome surmounted by the statue of the founder, who was ultimately buried beneath it. Besides these new constructions, Hadrian restored many of the older buildings, such as the Pantheon, the temple of Augustus, and the baths of Agrippa. He piqued himself on his knowledge of all matters, but especially of architecture, and is said to have put Apollodorus, the architect, to death for an uncourtly criticism of one of his designs. Favorinus, the rhetorician, yielded to his authority on questions of grammar, remarking that 'it is ill disputing with the master of thirty legions.'

Hadrian reigned supreme in the loyalty of the soldiers, and in the favour of the senate and of all classes of citizens. Yet he chose to associate with himself in the purple a young and frivolous noble, C. Commodus Verus. This worthless partner

of his empire was entrusted with a command on the Pannonian frontier, but he soon fell into a decline, and in the third year of his feeble sovereignty died. Hadrian hastened to supply his place. Assembling the chiefs of the senate, he announced to them that his choice had fallen on T. Aurelius Antoninus, a man of mature age and proved ability. The new emperor was required to adopt two heirs, Annius and Lucius Verus, both of the family of the lately deceased emperor. A.D. 138.

The life of Hadrian himself was not protracted beyond the middle of this year. He suffered much from maladies for which medicine afforded no relief, and is said to have become irritable and sanguinary in his last years. At one time he would take refuge in magical arts, at another in poison or the dagger of the suicide; but he was kindly watched and tended, and expired in comparative tranquillity, leaving to the world as his last legacy a playful and poetical address to his own departing spirit.

CHAPTER LXII.

THE AGE OF THE ANTONINES.

TITUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS was already in his fifty-second year when he began to reign. In honour of his adoptive father he changed his style to Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus; and to this the senate added the epithet Pius. He is commonly known as Antoninus Pius. He was married to Arria Galeria Faustina, and had several children, but only one daughter, Faustina, survived, and her he joined in marriage with his nephew Aurelius, whom he had adopted at the same time as the young Verus. The name of Antoninus, which was borne equally by Pius and by his successor Marcus Aurelius, became, next to that of Augustus, the most honoured in the long imperial series. The age of the Antonines is generally reckoned as beginning with the accession of Nerva. It was a period of peace and prosperity, and of good, we may almost say, of constitutional government; but in the course of it the ancient martial valour of the Roman people was perishing for want of exercise.

The two Antonines were philosophers in the purple, who governed their people in concert with the senate on the highest principles of virtue. The elder could seat himself in his library on the Palatine and rule the empire from its centre. But for the exigencies of frontier wars, the younger, Aurelius, would have passed a no less studious life. Both of them, by their promise to shed no senator's blood, were pledged to frugality in the public service; and both redeemed their pledge. Antoninus, while he remitted some customary taxes, was magnificent in gifts and largesses and public works; and when the full treasury of Hadrian was emptied, he replenished it by the sale of the imperial furniture.

The internal history of this happy reign was entirely uneventful. On the frontiers, indeed, there was frequent trouble, especially on the Danube and in Africa, but this mild prince, who judged it better to save one citizen than to slay a thousand enemies, adopted the policy of buying off the invaders. In Britain, however, after a revolt of the Brigantes had been put down, the defences of the empire were carried farther north, and a second wall was built across the island between the estuaries of the Clyde and the Forth. The space thus gained to the Roman province between the walls of Agricola and Antoninus was rapidly filled up by Roman colonists, who were constantly pushing forward even beyond the limits of protection. In the most distant regions of Parthia, Armenia, and Scythia, the emperor of Rome was accepted as the supreme arbiter of national quarrels. Yet the policy of Augustus was adhered to, and the limits of the empire were not extended in that direction. This period of quiet equilibrium was signalised by some great works of geographical interest, the 'System of Geography' of Ptolemy, the 'Itinerary' of Antoninus, and the 'Periplus of the Euxine and of the Erythræan or Indian Ocean' by Arrian.

The greatest glory of Antoninus is the unremitting care with which he studied to promote the welfare and happiness of his people. Humanity, under him, made a great step in advance. Not content with repressing the exactions and injustice of the tax-collectors, he required his officers to spare the needy and indulge the unfortunate. Not only did he economise the public resources, but he sacrificed his own fortune to the service of the state. He celebrated the secular games with great splendour,

and adorned the city with a graceful column as well as by the completion of Hadrian's mausoleum. The amphitheatre at Nismes and the aqueduct of the Pont du Gard, the noblest monuments of Roman art beyond the Alps, are also ascribed to his munificence. Antoninus also contributed important additions to the code of Roman law, and his judgments were marked by equity and humanity. His paternal kindness towards the Christians was even more generous than that of Hadrian.

The special characteristic of Antoninus was his cheerfulness. No philosophical dispute, no popular outburst of petulance, could disturb the serenity of his temper. Content with his political surroundings, with the society of his friends, with the religion of his time, he was troubled by no anxieties. Power made no difference in him. Kind, modest, affable, and abstemious as he had always been, such he continued to be as emperor. To his unworthy consort Faustina he was more than forgiving, taking no notice of her irregularities, and when she died, as fortunately she did in the early years of his principate, he assigned her divine honours, and never married again. After reigning for twenty-three years he died, A.D. 161, giving to his guard as his last watchword, 'Equanimity.'

Marcus Aurelius, who now succeeded to the throne, had been for some time associated in the government. In presiding on the tribunals, in guiding the deliberations of the senate, in receiving embassies and appointing magistrates, he had shrunk from no fatigue, but his heart was still in his philosophical studies. Plato had maintained that states would surely flourish, were but their philosophers princes or their princes philosophers; and the hope that he might prove this doctrine true encouraged Aurelius in his undertaking. By Hadrian's direction, Antoninus had adopted the young Verus at the same time with Aurelius, but he had treated the two on a very different footing. While marrying Aurelius to his own daughter, and treating him with confidence as his destined successor, he had excluded from public life the weak son of a dissolute sire. Aurelius at once reversed this wise decision, and elevated his brother to a position equal to his own, conferring upon him every dignity which he enjoyed, not even withholding the title of Augustus. For the first time two Augusti sat together in the purple.

The first years of the new reign were troubled by disturbances in various parts of the empire. Lusitania broke into insurrection. Spain was invaded by the Moors. The Chatti crossed the frontiers into Gaul and Rhætia. In Britain the legions were disaffected. But the most serious alarm was caused by war with Parthia, and a disaster to the Roman arms at Elegia, on the Euphrates, comparable to that of Carrhæ. Aurelius despatched Verus to the East with experienced officers to guide him; but before he reached the seat of war, Avidius Cassius had already retrieved the fortunes of the empire by a series of victories, which opened the gates of Ctesiphon and Seleucia, and revived the memory of Trajan's conquests. Verus hastened back to Rome, but the returning army brought with it the seeds of a terrible pestilence, which spread its devastations throughout the West. Famine, fires, and earthquakes succeeded to the plague, and the public terror was brought to a climax by the report of a powerful irruption of barbarians across the Danube. Superstitious fears took possession both of the people and of the prince. These calamities were attributed to the anger of the gods, and the progress which the Christians were making pointed them out as suitable victims to appease the divine wrath. Aurelius purified the city by a solemn lustration and a lectisternium of seven days, and then, to his lasting disgrace, gave orders for a cruel persecution of the Christians.

A.D. 166.

Aurelius now set out for the seat of war accompanied by Verus. The legions were sickly and desponding; the citizens scarcely hoped for their victorious return. Already the outposts were in retreat, and the colonists were flying before a numerous and organised host of invaders. But the memory of Trajan was still held in awe on the Danube. Before the emperors reached the Alps, the shadow of their great name had gone before them, and sufficed to repel the intruders and make them sue for peace. In the following year they visited Illyricum and made provision for the defence of the empire in that quarter; and on their return to Rome in the autumn of 168, Aurelius was relieved, by the death of the feeble Verus, of one source of anxiety and embarrassment. From this time forward Aurelius knew no respite from distant warfare. Germans, Scythians, and Sarmatians attacked the northern frontier. From his head-quarters at Carnuntum

A.D. 167.

(Presburg), he had to confront them on the frozen Danube in winter, on the arid steppes in summer. Once his army was surrounded by the Quadi, and cut off from its supply of water, when a sudden storm filled the camp with rain water, and disordered the enemy with lightnings. The marvel was attributed by some to the incantations of an Egyptian sorcerer, by others to the favour of Jupiter Pluvius; by the Christians it was averred to be due to the prayers of a Christian legion traditionally known as the thundering legion. The incident is represented, and may still be studied, among the sculptures on the Aurelian column at Rome.

From the northern frontier Aurelius was suddenly called away by the revolt of Avidius Cassius in the East. This able and ambitious general spread a report of the emperor's death, and invited his soldiers to raise him to the purple. He is said to have been urged to this treason by the empress Faustina herself, who was as dissolute in her conduct as her mother had been, and to whom Aurelius was as blindly indulgent as Antoninus had been. Before the emperor reached the scene of action, Cassius had fallen by the hand of his own soldiers, and Faustina fell sick and died on the journey. Aurelius commanded her deification, but the Romans execrated her memory, not only for her own vices, but also as the mother of the detested Commodus. The Stoic emperor pardoned the supporters of the fallen traitor, and, to prove his own spotless innocence, caused himself to be initiated in the mysteries at Eleusis. On his return to Rome he celebrated a triumph over the Sarmatians, together with his son Commodus, now entering upon manhood. But the pressure of the northern tribes became again intolerable. Once more the philosophic emperor was forced to plunge into the noisy turmoil of the camp. With failing health, with an exhausted treasury, and troops thinned by the desolating plague, he toiled on for three more years at what seemed a fruitless task. One great victory is claimed for his arms; and a final triumph began to seem almost within reach, when he was carried off by a fever at Vindebona (Vienna). He at least escaped the mortification of seeing the great Sarmatian war closed by a disgraceful peace which was soon after purchased by the Romans.

A.D. 175.

A.D. 180.

Marcus Aurelius, though not endowed with brilliant military genius, yet commanded his legions with courage and

earnestness, and was not ill seconded by his officers and men. But the armies of Rome were no longer what they once had been. These troops of foreign mercenaries were not to compare for martial vigour with the old Italian militia; and the population of the empire was seriously crippled by the plague. On the other hand, the Germans and Scythians opposed to him flowed forward in irresistible hordes, with all the audacity that belongs to the lusty youth of nations. From this time forward the tide of victory began to set against the empire. The attitude of Rome became purely defensive, and though she fought bravely, her defence was crippled by a sense of weakness, and at length by anticipation of defeat. Aurelius seems to have perceived, before his countrymen, this downward course on which the empire was entering, and to have been saddened by the prospect.

The despondency of the imperial philosopher is strongly marked in the book of 'Meditations,' in which he closely analyses his own character and motives. Stoicism had become to this, the last great representative of the sect, more than ever a matter of conscience and religion; and as such it not unnaturally kindled in his mind a feeling of hostility to the professors of the young and vigorous system which was soon to supplant it. The fastidious pride of the Roman philosopher could not brook the simple creed on which the Christian leant, and by which he ruled himself in action. To live for the state, to sacrifice every passion and every interest to the good of the state, was the fundamental rule of life to Aurelius. When, therefore, he found the Christians withdrawing on religious grounds from the duties of the public service, he had found an excuse for treating them with cruelty; and the result was that on every occasion of military defeat, inundation, or pestilence, he yielded to the cries of the infuriated populace, and crowds of Christian martyrs were hurled 'to the lions' in the arena.

In spite of this wholesale persecution, the new religion was steadily advancing in its influence over men's minds. Greece and Rome were falling more and more under the influence of the East, and the speculations of Oriental philosophy excited more interest than any other topics. Christianity, derived from an Oriental birthplace, seemed to lift the veil from some of the deepest mysteries of theosophy, and to satisfy the craving of mankind.

CHAPTER LXIII.

COMMODUS, PERTINAX, SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, CARACALLA, MACRINUS ELAGABALUS, ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

We need not dwell long on the reign of the wretched Commodus the unworthy son of a noble father. At first he allowed the government to be administered by the wise statesmen by whom his father had surrounded him, and veiled his own profligacy within his palace walls. But his own sister Lucilla plotted against his life, and the assassin she had hired, as he aimed the blow, announced that it was sent by the senate. Commodus escaped, but was thenceforward filled with deadly enmity against the senators, and contrived on various false accusations to rid himself by death or exile of all the most distinguished among them. The government then fell into the hands of a succession of favourites, some of whom plotted against their master, were detected, and executed, while others were sacrificed to the clamours of the discontended populace.

The emperor maintained himself upon the throne by largesses to the prætorians, and extravagant amusements for the people. He himself fought as a gladiator in the arena 750 times, and delighted to exhibit his prowess by slaying hecatombs of wild beasts with bow or javelin, always under due protection. He affected the character of Hercules, and these barbarous feats made him a favourite with the rabble. The provinces continued to enjoy a quiet and orderly government, but those who came in contact with the tyrant were never safe from his capricious cruelty. At length, after twelve years of empire, he was assassinated by his favourite concubine Marcia, in concert with Eclectus his chamberlain, and Lætus the prefect of the prætorians. A.D. 192.

Pertinax, a distinguished senator, was at once put forward as his successor, and accepted by the prætorians, by the senate and by the people. He was a cultivated and experienced statesman of the same stamp as Galba, but unfortunately without a military following. For this reason he lay at the mercy of the prætorians, and had no choice but to buy their favour with a liberal donative. He had no intention, however, to remain a mere puppet in their hands, and soon began to enforce discipline

among them. This they would not endure, and before three months had expired they broke into open mutiny, forced their way into the palace, fell upon the emperor and slew him. His short reign of eighty-seven days had been a contrast indeed to that of Commodus. The exiles were recalled; life and property were once more secure; and the finances were recruited by legitimate means. There was no power in Rome nor even in Italy which could resist the organised force of the prætorians, and these mercenaries proceeded to offer the empire for sale to the highest bidder. Didius Julianus, a senator, satisfied their rapacity by the offer of a sum equal to 200*l.* sterling to each of the 12,000 soldiers. He was presented to the senate as the choice of the soldiers, and the conscript fathers could but submit in silent wrath to the force of arms, and accept the upstart emperor. Not so the armies on the frontiers. In three independent quarters they flew to arms. The legions on the Euphrates saluted their commander Pescennius Niger as emperor; those on the Rhine conferred the purple on Clodius Albinus; the soldiers who kept guard on the Danube nominated Septimius Severus. The last-named leader was an African by birth, full of energy and ability, and when once the movement was resolved on, he lost not a moment in executing it. His troops were practised in arms, well disciplined, and near to Italy. He led them at once to Rome, and without striking a blow reduced the prætorians to submission, captured the wretched Julianus, and put him to death after a reign of two months only. The first act of Septimius was to disarm and disperse the prætorians who had supported his rival. He then organised his own most trusted legions as an imperial guard of 50,000 men. Leaving the capital securely in their hands, he advanced steadily to the East to try conclusions with Niger. Arrived within striking distance, he summoned him to surrender to the emperor acknowledged by the senate. The eastern pretender, however, showed fight, but to little avail; his forces were defeated, first at the passage of the Hellespont, and again in the defiles of Cilicia; he himself was taken and slain.

Severus was now at liberty to deal with his rival in the West. Clodius Albinus, though gluttonous and indolent, was not without soldierly qualities, and his troops were of high mettle. Severus encountered him at Lugdunum, in Gaul. A desperate battle ensued between the rival armies,

A.D. 194.

and the result was for some time uncertain, but the fortune of Severus again prevailed. Albinus was routed, captured, and put to death. The enterprise of Severus was crowned with complete success, not ill-earned by boldness, A.D. 197. energy, and conduct. In these qualities he might fairly be compared to the great Julius, but he was wanting in the clemency which distinguished the first Cæsar. On his return to Rome, Severus made a searching inquisition into the temper of the senators towards him, and finding that many among them were kinsmen or friends of one or other of his late rivals, and that no strong affection was felt for him by the remainder, he did not hesitate to strike terror by the execution of forty of their number. The senators stood aghast at his cruelty, but they were cowed and gave him no further trouble.

The rule of Severus was a pure autocracy; but it was equitable and beneficent. He spent little time at Rome, which he could leave securely guarded by his prætorian army, while the civil government was carried on by the lawyer Papinian. Severus once more led the Roman legions to Ctesiphon and Seleucia, and impressed upon the Parthians a lasting respect for the power of Rome. In his later years he visited Britain, and penetrated far into the wilds of Caledonia; but he concluded that the safest limit of the empire was the line laid down by Hadrian, which he ordered to be strengthened by a second rampart. Severus died at York, giving as his last watchword 'Laboremus,' as though, in his opinion, A.D. 211. the spade were quite as effective an implement of war as the sword.

Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus, adorned her imperial station with many high qualities, but she had the misfortune to be the mother of two princes, one of whom became almost the greatest monster of the whole imperial series. These two brothers, Bassianus, generally known by the nickname of Caracalla, and Geta, were present with their father in Britain at the time of his death. They both set out at once for Rome, but so ill-disposed were they towards each other that they kept apart throughout the long journey. The quarrel continued to rage between them in the capital, till at length Caracalla poniarded his brother with his own hand in his mother's arms. The fratricide made no secret of his crime, and proceeded to secure his own safety by the slaughter of every man and woman

whom he regarded as an adherent of the murdered Geta. Thousands perished, and among them Fadilla, the last surviving daughter of Aurelius, and Papinian, the minister of Severus, who had refused to write a public defence of the infamous deed. Haunted by the furies of an evil conscience, this rude, illiterate, and hideous monster soon fled from Rome and roamed about the remoter provinces of the empire, not pretending to take command of the armies, but slaking his cruel thirst for blood wherever the fancy took him. At Alexandria he revenged himself for some popular gibes by a frightful massacre. His miserable life was protracted by frequent changes of residence for six years. He was killed at last on the borders of Syria at the instigation of his chief minister Macrinus, one of the prefects of the city, who found that his own life was in danger from the tyrant.

A.D. 217.

Macrinus easily bribed the soldiers on the frontier to proclaim him emperor, and in spite of some murmurs at the elevation of another African of low birth, he was for the time recognised by the senate and the people of Rome. He remained, however, in the East, and set himself to improve the discipline of the legions, and to reduce their emoluments within more reasonable limits. This effort, though much needed, and prudently exerted, produced discontent among the soldiers, and led to the speedy downfall of the usurper.

It will be well to pause at this point and take a general view of the situation of the empire. The system of government introduced by Augustus was in form and in fact a compromise or balance between three great powers in the state—the senate, the people, and the army. The emperor, as prince of the senate, tribune of the people, and commander of the army, professed to derive his authority from each of these three forces, and to exercise it as their constitutional representative. The rule of Augustus embodied this idea in practice with marvellous accuracy. That of his successors in the main conformed to it loyally, in spite of the capricious vagaries of a Caligula or a Nero. Under the Flavii, the empire rested somewhat more avowedly upon the will of the legions. Under Nerva and his successors, the influence of the senate was apparently increased, and served to mask the really preponderant power of the army. Throughout this period the popular element in the commonwealth, the Roman mob, fell more and

more into contempt. It was enough to feed it and to amuse it. Its suffrages could always be purchased. But in the mean time a new and more important Roman people was growing year by year in numbers and in influence. The liberal policy of Julius Cæsar towards the Gauls and other foreign races had been revived by Claudius, and from his time forwards large numbers of provincials were from time to time admitted as citizens of Rome. The sums paid for the enfranchisement of individuals formed an important source of revenue to the imperial treasury. These new citizens cast in their lot with the Roman officials, supported them in their despotic government, and helped them to control any popular movements which might arise. Under Hadrian this class of provincial citizens already comprised nearly the whole free population. Under Caracalla, by the advice of the wise jurisconsults whom his father had placed around him, the edict was issued by which the citizenship of Rome was conferred upon all.

Side by side with this great social revolution, the transformation and codification of the law had been advancing with rapid strides. The old municipal law of Rome was quite inadequate to the needs of a world-wide empire; and generations of lawyers had been working under imperial supervision to incorporate the legal principles and usages of other civilised communities into that logical and harmonious system which became in later times the basis of modern European law. At the foundation of this world-wide system of citizenship and law lay a principle utterly repugnant to old Roman ideas, a principle which owed its gradual acceptance to the teaching of the Stoic philosophers—that of the universal brotherhood and natural equality of all men. The Romans learnt it from the Greeks. It was earnestly maintained by Cicero and Seneca, embodied in wise laws by the philosophic jurists of the empire, and authoritatively enforced by Hadrian, Antoninus, and Aurelius.

The current of religious thought flowed in like manner in an ever-widening channel. The gods of Greece and Egypt were admitted side by side with those of Italy into the Roman Pantheon. The Gaulish deities Taranis and Hesus were identified with Jupiter and Mars, and the Druidical priesthood was replaced by a hierarchy of Flamens and Aruspices. The Jewish religion was recognised, and Christianity, though never

authorised, and often persecuted, was generally tolerated. During the period of peace and prosperity which followed the death of Marcus Aurelius, no inquisition was made into the belief of the Christians. Their manners and teaching began to exercise a wholesome influence upon society; the number of converts among families of high rank increased; and the Christian bishops, especially the bishop of Rome, became almost a recognised power in the state.

Under these circumstances Rome was not unprepared for the strange phenomenon which now burst upon the world. The children of Mars and Quirinus were required to accept as their chief, their prince, and their supreme pontiff, a stripling from Syria, a priest of the Sun, clothed in the Oriental tiara and linen stole, and invested by the devotees of his cult and nation with a peculiar personal sanctity; and they did accept him. On the fall of Caracalla, the empress-mother, Julia Domna, put an end to her life; but her sister Julia Mæsa, herself a widow, retired to Antioch with her two daughters, Soemias and Mamæa, who were also widows. Soemias the elder had one son, Bassianus. Mamæa had also a son named Alexander. The young Bassianus, conspicuous for the beauty of his face and figure, became priest of the Sun in the temple at Emesa. The legions stationed there chafed at the hard discipline of Macrinus; they fancied they could detect in the features of Bassianus some resemblance to the house of Severus; they pretended that he was the son of Caracalla, and by a sudden movement proclaimed him emperor. Macrinus was taken by surprise, and dismayed by the popularity of his rival; the prætorian troops in attendance upon him were faithful, and almost made up by their valour for the numbers of effeminate Orientals to whom they were opposed, but Macrinus fled, and, with his son, was quickly taken and slain. The contending armies promptly fraternised, and the senate acquiesced in an appointment which bore some semblance of a return to the principle of hereditary descent.

A.D. 218.

The deity of the Sun was worshipped at Emesa under the form of a rude black stone, and under the name of Elagabalus. His priest was designated by the same name, and is known among the Roman emperors as Elagabalus. Ignorant alike of Roman history and Roman manners, the Oriental youth transferred his superstitious cult, his filthy depravity, and his

effeminate dress unchanged to the city of Augustus and Antoninus. The period of his rule, which was happily not prolonged, marks the lowest depth of infamy and degradation to which imperial Rome ever sank. His grandmother Mæsa persuaded him to make his cousin Alexander, a youth of better promise, his colleague in the empire, A.D. 222. and soon after the prætorians mutinied, and put an end to his miserable life and principate.

Alexander was readily accepted as his successor, and took the additional name of Severus. Under this amiable prince the empire enjoyed some years of peace, and was relieved from much of the taxation imposed by the necessities of warlike or profligate rulers. His minister, Ulpian, carried forward the important work of codifying the law. Raised to power at the early age of seventeen, Alexander was too much under the influence of his mother Mamæa, who seduced him into some acts of injustice and cruelty towards his wife and his father-in-law. The prætorians, when they found that the child whom they had placed upon the throne was resolved to keep them under control, broke into mutiny. But their anger was directed more against the minister than the emperor. The citizens rose in arms to defend Ulpian, but in vain; he was seized and massacred within the palace. Alexander watched his opportunity to avenge the deed upon Epagathus, the prætorian leader; and as time went on he displayed a firmness in dealing with his mutinous legions which enabled him to acquire the mastery over them.

Without being a profound student or an acute philosopher, Alexander was fond of literature and eager to make himself acquainted with the lives and teaching of the best and wisest of mankind. Among the images set up in his chapel as objects of devout contemplation, are said to have been those of Orpheus, Abraham, and Jesus Christ. Amid the cheerful contentment which reigned around him, he was never tempted to raise a persecuting hand against the Christians.

At length the affairs of the East, where the Persian monarchy had risen upon the ruins of the Parthian, compelled him to take the field. His operations were conducted on a grand scale, but resulted in no substantial success, though one great victory is ascribed to him. From Asia he returned to the camps of the Danube and the Rhine, and there his career

was abruptly cut short by a mutiny, which raised to the purple an obscure Thracian peasant named Maximinus. This barbarian emperor was conspicuous for his gigantic stature and rude prowess; but he was entirely illiterate, and ignorant even of the Greek language.

A.D. 235.

CHAPTER LXIV.

ADVANCE OF THE BARBARIANS. RAPID SUCCESSION OF EMPERORS.

THE usurper Maximin was followed by a succession of emperors whose brief and feverish reigns, with one or two exceptions, have little to interest us. It will suffice to record their names, and the circumstances of their elevation to the purple, after first casting a general glance upon the relations of Rome to the communities around her. The rulers of the state will henceforth be stationed on the frontiers; and the city of Rome will fall out of notice, until our attention is recalled to it by the triumph of the Christian religion.

The increasing force and activity of the barbarians forms the chief political feature of the period before us. We find them now associated into three powerful confederations, each of which in turn proved too strong for the imperial forces. About the time at which we are now arrived, the tide of invasion was turned on the Rhenish frontier, and the German tribes began to force their way into the Roman provinces. The Chauci, the Chatti, and the Cherusci, united under the common designation of the Franks, at length overcame the resistance of the legions on the Lower Rhine, and carried their devastations through the whole extent of Gaul. Thence they passed into Spain, and, seizing the ships in the harbours, traversed the Mediterranean to its most distant shores. The Frankish conquests, however, were not permanent, and after the storm was passed the Roman power was re-established within its ancient limits.

On the Upper Rhine and the head waters of the Danube, in the countries now known as Baden, Bavaria, and Bohemia, four important tribes, the Suevi, the Boii, the Marcomanni, and

the Quadi, were banded together under the title of Allemanni. After a protracted struggle with the garrisons of Rhætia and Pannonia, the Allemanni, in A.D. 272, burst the barrier of the Alps, and spread desolation over Northern Italy as far as Ravenna. The invaders, it is true, failed to acquire any firm footing, and yielded to the enervating effect of the soft Italian climate; but the empire was made painfully sensible of its weakness, and even Rome itself was seen to lie almost at the mercy of the barbarians.

The Goths, the most formidable of all the barbarians, became known to the Romans at this period. They appeared on the Lower Danube with their kindred Getæ, and that river proved no effective barrier to their progress. They were daring navigators, who did not fear to traverse the broad and stormy Euxine. They ravaged the coast of Asia Minor; they sacked the rich cities of Trapezus, Cyzicus, and Nicomedia; at last they penetrated the Hellespont, and carried A.D. 260. the terror of their name through Greece and the islands of the Ægean, and as far even as Calabria.

In the far East the empire was assailed by another power. The waning monarchy of Parthia had expired, and in its place a young and vigorous Persian dynasty had arisen. Ardshir the son, and Sapor the grandson of Sassan, took advantage of the weakness of the empire, and once more reduced Armenia to dependence upon them. They repelled the attack of Alexander Severus, recovered possession of the recent Roman conquests, and in their turn ventured to invade the Roman provinces of Asia Minor. Further south the Saracens began to come into notice, harassing the borders of civilisation in Palestine and Egypt. Throughout the empire the country parts were infested by bands of brigands, and government scarcely existed outside the walls of the cities. Innumerable finds of the hoarded coins of this period attest the prevalent sense of insecurity. Of the emperors whose faces appear on the coins of these troubled times, two things are worthy of note. First, however selfish might be their personal ambition, they never neglected the paramount duty of defending the empire against all assailants; and second, none of them ever dreamt of tearing a limb from the empire and setting himself up as an independent provincial monarch. The all looked to Rome as the centre of authority, and assumed the titles and functions of Roman emperors.

The usurpation of Maximin was deeply resented by the senators, and the two Gordians, father and son, who held high office in Africa, stood forward as the representatives of this feeling and the opponents of the Thracian upstart. They assumed the purple, and in concert with the senate prepared to defend Italy against Maximin, but they were attacked by the neighbouring governor of Mauretania: the younger was slain in battle, and the elder driven in despair to kill himself. Maximus, a rude but able soldier, and Balbinus, a cultivated orator, were chosen by the senate to supply their place, and with them was associated a third Gordian, the grandson of the elder, a mere boy, who received the title of Cæsar. Maximin advanced into Italy and laid siege to Aquileia, and being delayed there by the gallant resistance of the place, his soldiers mutinied and murdered him. A few months later Maximus and Balbinus fell victims in the same manner to their soldiery, and the young Gordian assumed the purple as sole emperor.

A.D. 237.

A.D. 238.

For five years the government was ably administered by his minister, Misitheus. Gordian in person repelled an attack of the Persians upon Syria. But Misitheus died, and his successor Philippus, an Arabian, conspired against his master. Gordian was slain by his own soldiers on the Euphrates, and Philippus reigned in his stead.

A.D. 244.

This Oriental prince has been claimed as a convert to Christianity. The most important act of his reign shows that he did not scruple to propitiate the gods of Rome by the most solemn of all their rites. On April 21, A.D. 248, he celebrated the thousandth anniversary of the foundation of the city with great pomp, and performed the secular games with all the splendour given to that festival by Augustus and his successors. He was anxious perhaps to reassure the citizens at a moment when the Goths, a new and formidable enemy, were threatening the empire on the side of Mœsia. But his own troops were in open mutiny headed by Maximus, who pretended to the empire. Philip despatched Decius against him, but Decius in his turn was set up by the troops as a rival claimant to the throne. The issue was decided between them at Verona in a battle in which Philip was defeated and slain.

A.D. 248, A.U. 1001.

Once more the Romans saw at their head an emperor of the

best Roman blood, who was also a brave soldier. Decius belonged to the old plebeian house famous in history for its patriotic devotion. He had not schemed for power, but it had been thrust upon him. In his opinion Rome could only be saved by a victorious army, and the discipline of that army could only be maintained by a return to ancient Roman principles. In the eyes of one who put his trust in the gods of Rome, toleration was a weak mistake, and Decius insisted that the Christians should conform to the ancient ordinances of the state. The Goths were threatening invasion; and as in former crises of a similar kind, so now, but with unexampled severity, persecution fell upon the believers. Tried by the test of heathen vows and sacrifices, many false professors doubtless fell into apostasy; but the true remnant were drawn together more closely than ever, and confirmed each other in the faith by many noble examples. The storm of persecution, though sharp, was transient. Decius hastened to the scene of war in Mæsia to prepare his legions for the coming struggle, leaving Valerian in charge of the city with the office and title of censor. In three campaigns Decius opposed a manful resistance to the encroaching foe; and at length gained the distinction of falling, first of all the Roman emperors, on the field of battle. A gallant son perished with him, but the devotion of these latter Decii gained no triumph for Rome. A.D. 251.

The senate nominated for his successor an officer named Gallus, who at once purchased a humiliating peace; but all parties were dissatisfied: Gallus was murdered by the soldiers, and an officer of the Danubian army, Æmilianus, took his place. Against this new pretender Valerian now advanced at the head of the army of the Rhine, and Æmilianus in his turn was assassinated. Valerian, with his son Gallienus, wore the purple for the period, now unusually long, of seven years. He was not destitute of civic virtues, and bore his dignity with grace and moderation; but he proved incapable of dealing with the barbarians, and during his reign the frontier provinces were often overrun by the Franks and the Goths. At length Valerian girded on his sword, and marched to the Euphrates to check the career of the conquering Sapor. He was, however, defeated and captured at Edessa; and after suffering unheard-of indignities, the Persian tyrant mounting on his captive's back into the saddle, he died, and his skin, A.D. 253.

tanned and painted purple, was suspended in a temple. Sapor advanced into Asia Minor; but was content to return to Persia, carrying with him a multitude of slaves. The indolent Gallienus made no attempt to repair the honour of the empire, which was better sustained by Odenathus, a Syrian chieftain, who defended Palmyra, and who assumed the title of emperor.

A.D. 260.

While Gallienus lingered in vicious ease at Rome, a host of pretenders sprang up in every quarter of the empire. Roman writers have called them the thirty tyrants, and their number did not fall short of nineteen; but one after another they perished by the hands of their own troops or by the arms of the emperor's loyal lieutenants. Odenathus alone was accepted as a colleague by Gallienus, and honoured with the title of Augustus. He and his gallant queen Zenobia were the most distinguished persons of that obscure but turbulent epoch.

In due course Gallienus met with a violent end in a tumult in the camp. In his last moments he nominated for his successor, Claudius, a man of courage and ability, though of mean birth and foreign extraction. With him begins a brief revival of military glory. The civil contests of the last few years had exercised the legions, and elicited such military ability as might exist. At the same time the city of Rome had been completely severed from the imperial camp. By a decree of Gallienus the senators were prohibited from taking any part in military affairs. The citizens acquiesced, and were content to lead an easy life, busied only with the ceaseless war of words, interested in the disputes between the Neo-Platonists and the Christian sects, while the defence and government of the empire were left to provincials and strangers.

A.D. 268.

Claudius routed the Goths in the great battle of Naissus in Mœsia, and assumed the name of Gothicus. He then prepared to advance against the Persians, and to compel the submission of Odenathus and Zenobia; but his career was cut short by a natural death at Sirmium on the Danube, and he nominated the gallant captain Aurelian for his successor. This man, the son of an Illyrian peasant, proved himself one of the ablest chiefs of the Roman legions. He defeated the Goths on the Danube, but prudently withdrew the outposts of the empire from the northern bank of that river. With his legions largely reinforced by barbarian cohorts, he

A.D. 270.

hastened to the East, and encountered no unworthy rival in Zenobia, queen of Palmyra. Zenobia, who was guided by the counsels of the philosopher Longinus, enjoyed and deserved a high reputation for political capacity. She resisted the Roman emperor in the field; but was overpowered and carried captive to Rome to grace her conqueror's triumph. Aurelian, however, spared her life, and she long lived in dignity and honour at Hadrian's villa near Tibur. The emperor, who was a stern disciplinarian, was preparing to carry out a virulent persecution of the Christians when he fell by assassination; and such was the respect in which he was held by the legions, that they consented to wait six months for the nomination of his successor by the senate. One substantial monument of his short reign remains in the existing walls of Rome, which were first erected in his time as a defence against the Allemanni who had penetrated into the heart of Italy. The walls of Servius had long been outgrown, and the new enclosure, with its circuit of twelve or thirteen miles, contained within it all the suburbs, and comprised an area three or four times that of the Servian. The city of Aurelian (Orleans) in Gaul, built on the foundations of the ancient Genabum, was another of his works. He designed it as a check upon the encroachments of the Franks and Allemanni, and his name is still perpetuated in its modern appellation.

A.D. 275.

Aurelian's successor, Tacitus, was selected by the senate. He was a man of good birth and of good character; but his great age rendered him incapable of enduring the fatigues of war, and he succumbed after a campaign of a few months against the Scythians.

A.D. 276.

Again the army undertook to create an emperor, and made an excellent choice in Aurelius Probus, a tried and brilliant general, and, like Aurelian, a native of Sirmium. Probus defeated the Germans on the Rhine and the Danube: he next overthrew the Goths; and then, marching to the extreme east of the empire, compelled the Persians to agree to an honourable peace. The peace of the empire being thus secured, Probus employed his legions in draining marshes and planting vineyards. He also re-established the cultivation of the vine in Spain, Gaul, Britain, and the Danubian provinces, where it had been prohibited since Domitian's time in the interest of the Italians. But these peaceful labours were distasteful to the

legionaries, and, after a useful reign of six years, Probus was killed in a mutiny.

The prize of empire fell next to Gaul. Carus, who was chosen by the legions to fill the vacant throne, was a native of Narbonne. He, too, was a hardy soldier who paid no attention to Rome, but spent his life in the camp. His son Carinus was of a violent and brutal temper; yet Carus was reluctantly compelled to leave the young Cæsar in command of the western provinces, while he himself led a fresh expedition against the Persians. Carus was the first Roman emperor who penetrated in person beyond Ctesiphon on the Tigris; but the fates seemed to forbid the transgression of that limit by a Roman general, and Carus was suddenly cut off, whether by accident or treachery is uncertain. His son Numerian at once led the legions homewards; but he also was struck down, and it is probable that the deaths of both father and son were due to the ambition of their lieutenant Aper, who undoubtedly aimed at the succession.

Meanwhile another chief, the Dalmatian Diocles or Diocletianus, was on the watch for his own advancement. He had risen from the lowest ranks by sheer force of talent, and had been early assured by a prophetess that he was destined for empire, and that he would attain it by the slaughter of a boar. Assiduous hunting in the forests of Gaul and Mœsia had won for him no prize of power. But now he knew that his hour was come; and, as he thrust his sword into the bosom of Aper to avenge his murdered chief, he confidently called upon the army and the senate to recognise his own claims and lift him to the purple. The army of the East adhered staunchly to him. Carinus, at the head of the forces of the West, disputed his succession, and showed high military capacity in more than one victorious engagement. But the star of Diocletian was in the ascendant. His rival was cut off by an assassin; and the man who best understood the needs of the empire and of the age was left in undisturbed command of the resources of the state.

A.D. 284.

CHAPTER LXV.

THE EMPIRE RECONSTITUTED BY DIOCLETIAN. RISE OF CONSTANTINE TO SUPREME POWER.

THE accession of Diocletian to power marks a new epoch in the history of the Roman empire. The old names of the republic, the consuls, the tribunes, even the senate itself, have by this time lost all political significance. The empire of Rome is henceforth constituted as a pure Oriental Autocracy; and the very name of citizen falls into disuse. If the provincial magistrates and assemblies still retain some of their ancient functions, they are strictly limited in their action to matters of police and finance. Hitherto the senate had been popularly regarded as the legitimate centre of administration and source of authority; but in practice it was rarely able, and then only on sufferance, to assert its right to select the chief of the state. The result of this weakness was that the provinces lay at the mercy of the armies. At any moment the empire might be torn asunder into as many kingdoms as there were armies. The chief of the strongest army called himself emperor; but, in the absence of a central controlling power, only the fortune of war or the chance stroke of the assassin's dagger could decide who should be emperor. The danger of disruption was becoming yearly more imminent, when Diocletian arose to knit the empire once more together into a living organisation.

Since the reign of Gallienus the senators had been forbidden to take any part in military matters; and this rule, in which they indolently acquiesced, had deprived them of the last remnant of substantial power. Accordingly, in framing his new imperial constitution, Diocletian took no account of the senate; but such was the traditional dignity of that once splendid assembly, that the emperor preferred to remain at a distance from the city where it still held its sittings. In order to put an effective check upon the ambition of his officers, Diocletian associated with himself three other chiefs, each of whom should rule over a separate quarter of the empire, and combine in maintaining their common interest. His first step was to choose for his colleague Maximianus, an Illyrian peasant, whom he invested with the title of Augustus, A.D. 286. Maximianus was deputed to control the Western portion of the empire, while

Diocletian took command in the East. But, finding the burden of government more than could be borne by two rulers, he, in the year 292, created two Cæsars, the one, Galerius, to share with him the empire of the East; the other, Constantius Chlorus, to divide the West with Maximian. The Cæsars were bound more closely to the Augusti by receiving their daughters in marriage. Each of these four princes reigned as a king in his own territory, having his own court and capital as well as his own army and camp; though the supremacy of Diocletain was fully recognised. Diocletian reigned at Nicomedia over Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt; his Cæsar, Galerius, resided at Sirmium, and governed the Danubian and Macedonian provinces. Maximian occupied Italy, Africa, and the adjacent islands, with his head-quarters at Milan; while Constantius, established at Trèves, undertook the defence of the Rhenish frontier, and drew the forces needed for the task from the martial provinces of Spain, Gaul, and Britain.

All the four emperors found serious work to do in quieting rebellious subjects, overthrowing pretenders to sovereignty, or repelling foreign foes; but they all acted with energy and success. Egypt was pacified, Mauretania humbled; Galerius reduced the Persians to submission; Constantius discomfited the Allemanni who had invaded Gaul, and put down the pretenders Carausius and Allectus in Britain. Thus victorious in every quarter, Diocletian celebrated his twentieth year of power by a triumph at the ancient capital, and then returned to Nicomedia. He soon afterwards formed the resolution to relieve himself of the cares of government, and called upon Maximian to do the same. On May 1, A.D. 305, being then fifty-nine years of age, Diocletian performed the act of abdication at Morgus in Mæsia, where he had first assumed the purple at the bidding of the soldiers. On the same day a similar scene was enacted by his colleague Maximian at Milan. Diocletian, completely successful in all his plans, crowned his career of moderation and self-restraint by confining himself during the remainder of his life to the tranquil enjoyment of a private station. He retired to his residence near Salona, in his native province Dalmatia, and amused himself during his declining years with the cultivation of his garden.

During the reign of Diocletian a serious outbreak of the labouring population occurred in Gaul. The system of imperial

taxation was intensely oppressive. The peasants, though legally free, were in fact registered and bound to the soil, in order to guard against any of them evading his share of the taxes. The restriction thus placed upon the natural movements of population produced, in years of famine, pestilence, or war, the direst distress. At the best of times the local officials could only escape ruin for themselves by grinding to the utmost the classes below them. Under this evil system, the wealth and population of the empire were fast sinking, while the luxury of the magnates and the necessities of the government increased. Gaul had suffered much from the incursions of the barbarians and from civil wars during the last half-century, and the distress thus caused led to the insurrection of the Bagandæ or rustic banditti. For several years the country was overrun with troops of famished and furious marauders, who attacked all property, and, in the case of Autun, sacked and destroyed one of the chief centres of Gaulish civilisation. The insurrection at length died out; but the imperial government failed to learn from it the urgent necessity of devising some less exhausting system of taxation.

The Christian writers have represented the Bagandæ as believers who had been driven to desperation by repeated persecutions. This statement is not corroborated by the pagan records, and there are strong grounds for doubting the truth of it; but it does seem likely that the insurrection opened the eyes of the government to the explosive nature of the prevailing discontent, and inclined them to regard Christianity with a jealous and hostile eye. Certainly it was at this time that the most general and violent effort was made to stamp out the new faith altogether. Diocletian was opposed to such a course; but both Maximian and Galerius urged it upon him, and at length prevailed. The persecution which followed was systematic and relentless. Constantius, however, refused to take part in it, and the Christians in Gaul, the country of the Bagandæ, were unmolested. Though Diocletian allowed himself to be persuaded against his better judgment to become a persecutor, we need not suppose that his cruelties were prompted by any superstitious fear of the offended pagan deities such as had dictated the earlier persecutions. Neither is it probable that he had any fanatical desire to prop the tottering edifice of pagan philosophy and superstition against the assaults of the new faith. The aim

of Diocletian's life had been to re-establish a powerful central government, which might command absolute obedience throughout every corner of the empire. In this he had succeeded; but meanwhile the growing power and organisation of the Christian Church had become a state within a state. Courts and prefects did not like to see their authority rivalled by that of metropolitans and bishops. Diocletian would not brook the existence of a power independent of his own sovereign will; and it was in order to extirpate such a power that he declared internecine war against the Church. He had undertaken a task which was beyond his or any man's strength, and which was doomed to failure. He had underrated the moral force, the unquenchable vitality of a society, which could not only survive but multiply in defiance of his ruthless edicts. He lived to see the persecution come to an end, and perhaps even to hear, in his retirement, of the edict of Milan, which guaranteed to the Christians once for all an established position in the commonwealth.

Notwithstanding the ability which Diocletian had displayed in the government of his realm, the distribution of power he affected to make on his abdication seems to indicate caprice or weakness. Instead of inviting the two Cæsars to step into the superior position of Augusti, and associate each with himself a Cæsar of his own choice, he allowed Galerius to nominate both the new princes; and Constantius was required to accept for his Cæsar one Flavius Severus, to the injury of his own son Constantine's claims. Constantius was at the time lying sick in the north of Britain. Galerius was watching for his death, and hoping to secure for himself supreme authority over the whole empire. But Constantius was beloved by his subjects, and especially by the many Christians who had taken refuge under his sway, for his moderation. He was also admired by the soldiers for his victories over the Allemanni and the Caledonians. At the moment of his death, they pro-

A.D. 306. claimed his son Constantine emperor in their camp at York, and this nomination was received with enthusiasm by all classes throughout the West. Galerius did not venture to oppose it; but insisted that Constantine should be content with the fourth place among the associated princes with the sub-

A.D. 306. ordinate title of Cæsar. Constantine affected to be

A.D. 312. satisfied, and devoted himself during six years to the administration of the Northern provinces. He thoroughly

quelled the barbarians in Britain, and put the Roman province in a complete state of defence. He re-established the provincial government which had been overthrown by Carausius. Thence he hastened to the Rhine, where the Germans were making fresh incursions, and completed his victory at Noviomagus by a terrible massacre of his captives. To his own subjects he was merciful and kind, protecting the Christians, and easing the burden of taxation which had pressed so hard upon the people of Gaul. Though personally indifferent to every form of religion, he perceived that Christianity was a rising power. His imagination was fascinated by it; and his vigorous understanding recognised the fact that the Christians were the best husbands and fathers, the most honest dealers, perhaps the bravest of soldiers, certainly the most loyal of subjects. However small their numbers compared to those of the pagans, their effective force was indefinitely multiplied by their zeal and earnestness, and by the admiration their long sufferings had extorted. While watching his opportunity for raising himself to the highest place in the empire, Constantine was perhaps already meditating an alliance with the greatest moral power of the period.

Meanwhile the senate at Rome awoke for a moment from its torpor, and, resenting the interference of Galerius with Italy, decreed the title of Augustus to Maxentius, the son of their late ruler Maximian. Maximian himself issued from his retirement on the plea of aiding the cause of his son, and sought to secure the support of Constantine by giving him his daughter Fausta in marriage. Maxentius soon drove his father out of Italy, and the old man found a refuge with his son-in-law in Gaul. Here his restless spirit drove him to make repeated efforts to recover the imperial power which he had resigned. His schemes were more than once frustrated, and he himself pardoned by Constantine, whose soldiers were ardently devoted to their emperor. At length Maximian contrived a plot to take the life of his generous benefactor. He was foiled and peremptorily required to put an end to his own existence.

A.D. 310. In the following year occurred the death of Galerius, whose cruelties have rendered his name a by-word, and whose death from a loathsome disease was regarded by the Christians as a divine retribution. Severus was already dead; and Licinius, by birth a Dacian peasant, had been promoted in his

place. Maximin, the nephew of Galerius, had been for some years the Cæsar of the East. On the death of Galerius, Licinius took possession of the empire of the East, and he, with Maximin, Maxentius, and Constantine, divided the Roman world between them; all four claiming the superior title of Augustus. Licinius and Constantine were both able and ambitious; the two other princes were weak and indolent. Scarcely had Galerius expired, when Constantine crossed the Alps to attack Maxentius. He gained three brilliant victories—at Turin, at Verona, and lastly at the Milvian Bridge, two miles from Rome, where Maxentius, after his defeat, was drowned in the Tiber. Constantine was received with acclamations in Rome, and speedily acknowledged emperor of the West throughout Italy and Africa. In the year 313 he issued at Milan the famous edict which assured the Christians not only of his protection but also of his favour. He afterwards affirmed with a solemn oath that while on his march from Gaul he had beheld the vision of a brilliant cross in the heavens inscribed with the legend, 'By this conquer!'

A.D. 312.

Constantine, who now saw Rome for the first time, affected to treat the senate with respect; but he took care to prevent the city from ever again giving laws to the empire by disbanding the prætorian guards and destroying their camp. He veiled his own personal faith in studied ambiguity, assuming the office of Chief Pontiff of the old national religion, and erecting statues of some of the gods of Olympus on his arch of triumph. Constantine had accepted the proffered alliance of Licinius, had given him his daughter in marriage, and had engaged him to set his seal to the edict of Milan. Bearing it back with him to the East and placarding it on the walls of Nicomedia, Licinius evoked the enthusiasm of the Christians, and had little difficulty in crushing his rival Maximin, who, after suffering three defeats, poisoned himself at Tarsus. But Constantine was jealous of the success of Licinius, and, pretending to have discovered an intrigue against himself, advanced with a small force to take him by surprise. A drawn battle on the plain of Mardia in Thrace led to an agreement by which Illyricum, Macedonia, Greece, and part of Mœsia were ceded to Constantine and incorporated with the Western empire. During the nine years that this compact remained in force, Constantine was actively engaged in reorganising his army and consolidating his vast

dominions. He reduced the strength of the legions to 1,500 men, and multiplied the number of them. He admitted slaves to the ranks, and generally selected barbarian captains for command. At the same time he was busily employed in revising the laws, hoping to bring Christians and pagans to live harmoniously together under equal laws; but he soon found that it was impossible to bring the Christians themselves into agreement. The bishops invoked his authority and besought his interference to reconcile the differences between the sects. He held councils at Rome and at Arles, where the question in debate turned upon the treatment of the weak brethren who had lapsed from the faith in the time of persecution. The Donatists rejected the emperor's decision, which was contrary to their views, and he was obliged to have recourse to the arm of power. The first imperial council of the Church was the signal for the first ecclesiastical persecution. Constantine was quite disposed to coerce the sectarians into uniformity, and, although but half persuaded to be a Christian, he made important concessions to the believers. In the year 321 he enacted that no secular labour or civil action, *except the emancipation of a slave,* be permitted on the 'day of the Sun,' and that Christian soldiers be allowed to quit their ranks on that day, and attend their religious services. Yet while the principles of the Christians were thus respected, their churches protected, and their endowments secured to them, Constantine did not break with paganism. He was still Chief Pontiff of Jupiter, 'best and greatest.' Vows and prayers might still be addressed to the pagan deities and even to the genius of the emperor. He even looked forward to being himself enrolled, after death, among the objects of national worship.

A.D. 314.

All this time Licinius was growing more and more jealous of the Western emperor, and of the favour with which the Christians regarded him. He foresaw that a struggle between them was inevitable, and he foolishly weakened his own cause by withdrawing his protection from the Christians. When at last the two emperors took the field against each other, Licinius openly avowed himself the champion of the pagan gods, and the contest became that of the new faith against the old. Constantine assembled his forces in Greece to the number of 130,000 men, with the labarum or monogram of Christ displayed upon his standard. Licinius encountered him at the

head of 165,000 men, and with a host of aruspices and diviners in his train. The armies met at Adrianople, Constantine giving for his watchword 'God our Saviour.' The Western army, in spite of its inferior numbers, carried all before it, and Licinius was driven for refuge into the fortress of Byzantium. Thence he was dislodged by Crispus, the son of Constantine, at the head of the fleet; and after some further efforts at resistance he retired to Nicomedia and made a full submission to the victor. He was promised his life, but the promise was not long observed. On the death of Licinius, Constantine saw himself at length sole and undisputed sovereign of the whole Roman world.

A.D. 323.

CHAPTER LXVI.

THE BUILDING OF CONSTANTINOPLE. THE REIGN OF CONSTANTIUS.

CONSTANTINE well deserved the title of 'Great' which has been affixed to his name in common with those of only two other conspicuous heroes of ancient history. The changes effected under his auspices were of more value and importance to the world than any achievements of Alexander or of Pompey. The establishment of Christianity, by itself, and regarded only as a politic measure, entitles its author to the highest honour; and the victories of Constantine in the field, the extent of his dominion, and the firm grasp with which he held it, were all unsurpassed by any ancient sovereignty.

From the time of his elevation to sole power he became more than ever the protector of the Christians, and no flattery was too strong to express their gratitude towards him. In the year 325 the strange sight was witnessed of a Roman emperor, Chief Pontiff of the pagan religion, surrounded by guards and officers of state, presiding over the deliberations of an assembly of Christian bishops. This occurred at the famous Council of Nicæa, where, after the testimony of the bishops as to the tradition of their several dioceses had been received, the final judgment on the most abstruse dogmas of the faith was pronounced by Constantine. The pagans, indeed, asserted that his

devotion to Christianity was due to his need of absolution for a domestic crime, which had been refused to him by the priests of the old religion. It is certain that his domestic relations were unhappy. Dissension raged between his mother Helena and his wife Fausta. He treated his brothers with great injustice, and excluded them from public life. His eldest son, Crispus, had been borne to him by an early favourite before his marriage with Fausta. The latter was jealous of the favour in which Crispus was held, fearing it might result in injury to her own legitimate offspring. A palace intrigue led to the sudden execution of Crispus, and the death of Fausta followed soon after. From the date of that tragedy Constantine was never free from gloomy remorse. He roamed from city to city, fixing his court most commonly in Gaul, at Trèves, or Lyons, and never visiting Rome except to celebrate the twentieth year of his reign. These wanderings came to a close at length, when he determined to erect for himself a new capital. For many hundreds of years Roman statesmen had looked eastwards; the chief wealth and intelligence and population of the empire were to be found in the eastern provinces. Sulla and Pompey had returned to Rome dazzled and debauched by the splendour and the pomp they had enjoyed in Asia. Antonius and Cæsar had been suspected of a design to make themselves Oriental despots. Augustus had entertained the idea of rebuilding Ilium. Diocletian had actually for a time transferred the chief seat of empire to Nicomedia. Constantine went beyond all his predecessors. He had marked the advantageous position of Byzantium when he pursued Licinius within its walls. He now determined to build a new Rome upon the site and make it the administrative centre of the empire. With prescient ambition he marked out its walls in person, embracing an area as large as that of Rome. Here he required his nobles to settle and build palaces for their families. Leaving the city and senate of Rome undisturbed, he quietly created a new senate and a new hierarchy of officers, and gave them a dignity equal to that of the ancient capital. The new metropolis basked in the sunshine of the imperial presence, and Rome soon sank into the position of a mere provincial capital such as Alexandria, Antioch, or Trèves. Constantinople became the mistress of the world, and succeeded to Rome's proudest title, 'The City.'

This transfer of the seat of empire to the East was due to something more than the caprice of the emperor. The position of Rome as the centre of imperial power had been due solely to her military supremacy. Throughout the long period of the growth of the republic and of the empire, Greece and the East, rather than Rome, had been the source whence the intellectual movement of the world had sprung. The laws, the literature, the philosophy, and now at length the religion of the empire, derived their origin from the lands which lay to the east of Italy. In wealth, in population, in culture, in intelligence, the Greeks and Orientals surpassed the people of Rome and Italy; and, now that the conquerors of the world had lost their once pre-eminent qualities of martial hardihood and practical statesmanship, it was but natural that power should drop from their hands. Another reason for the change may be found in the fact that the most dangerous external foes of the empire were now to be found in the East. The renewed vitality of the Persian monarchy, and the pressure of the Gothic hordes upon the line of the Lower Danube, required the constant presence and vigilant attention of the ruler in that quarter of the empire. A better centre of operations against these enemies than the new capital could not have been found. Constantinople, in fact, never succumbed to the power of the Goths. It proved a bulwark to the Eastern half of the empire against their attacks, and, by diverting their advance into a more westerly line of march, it exposed Italy and Rome to the full force of their onset.

Here, then, at the southern end of the western shore of the Bosphorus, at the point of junction of two continents, Constantine reared his imperial city, where for another thousand years the traditions of Roman dominion were maintained. Here he passed the last six years of his successful life.

A.D. 330.

Here he celebrated, in 336, the thirtieth anniversary of his elevation to the purple. In the following year, while leading his army against the Persian Sapor, he died at Nicomedia, receiving at last on his death-bed the sacrament of baptism which he had so long delayed, and which he probably regarded as a passport to heaven.

A.D. 337.

According to his directions, the empire was divided between his three sons. Constantine, the eldest, ruled over the Western

provinces, probably at Trèves. Constans, the youngest, occupied Italy, Illyricum, and Africa, but held his court not at Rome, nor even in Italy, but at one of the Pannonian fortresses. Constantius succeeded to the government of the East, making Constantinople his capital, and maintaining, during his long reign of forty years, the struggle begun by his father against the Persian monarchy. It was not long before Constantine and Constans quarrelled and fought. Their forces met at Aquileia, and the death of Constantine, which ensued, left Constans master of the entire West. He took up his residence in Gaul and led a life of indolent dissipation, till he was surprised by a mutiny of his soldiers, and despatched by their leader Magnentius. The murderer assumed the purple, and was acknowledged emperor of the Western provinces; but the Illyrian legions refused to recognise him, and set up an officer of their own, Vetranio, as his rival. Constantius heard at Edessa of this double revolt against the authority of the house of Constantine. He quickly retreated from the Persian frontier, and, marching across Asia Minor and through his capital, he never halted till he confronted Vetranio near Sirmium. A conference was arranged; the aged Vetranio, touched by a feeling of loyalty, admitted the superior claims of his great master's son, descended from his throne, did obeisance, and was forgiven. This reconciliation was followed by a decisive battle with Magnentius at Mursa, in Pannonia. After a bloody encounter the usurper was routed. He fled first to Aquileia, thence to Rome, and finally to Gaul, but was at last taken and killed. Constantius became undisputed ruler of the united empire. At the time of Constantine's death the soldiers had murdered all the scions of the house of Chlorus except the emperor's three sons and two of their cousins, Gallus and Julianus. Constantius now found it necessary to his security to execute his cousin Gallus, leaving but one collateral branch of his house, Julianus.

A.D. 340.

A.D. 350.

A.D. 353.

A.D. 354.

It was now thirty years since Constantine had left Rome. A generation of Romans had arisen who had never seen an emperor nor witnessed a great military pageant. The senate still sat: the consuls still gave their names to the successive years: but no affairs of state were discussed: no provincial government was directed from the whilom mistress of the

world. Here, amid the treasures of art collected during centuries of supremacy, amid the cultivated society which had long gravitated to the centre of empire, the wealthiest and idlest of the old aristocracy still loved to congregate. Since the edict of toleration all tongues had been loosened; Christians and pagans proclaimed their opinions in hot and sometimes angry debate. But the peace was not broken. Substantial harmony prevailed among all parties. For fifty years Rome had enjoyed a period of tranquil prosperity, such as might, perhaps, be compared advantageously even with the favoured era of the Antonines.

Although the sceptre had in reality departed from Rome, the citizens were far indeed from recognising the fact. They did not abate one jot of their ancient pride in themselves and their city, however little ground there might be for such self-satisfaction. The success of Rome had always been attributed to the reverence of her people for the national gods; and, despite the progress of Christianity, this feeling was by no means extinguished. The belief in such deities as Jupiter, Venus, or Apollo, had, it is true, almost died out; but in their place the divinity of Rome itself, the genius of the empire and of the city, had taken a firm hold on the affections and the devotion of the people. The goddess Roma had her temple, the most magnificent of all: she was doubtless there represented by an image of bronze or marble; but the most perfect embodiment of this ideal divinity was the person of the reigning emperor. It had now for centuries been the custom to accord divine honours to the emperors after death; and even during life a kind of divine sanctity had long been attached to their persons. The Orientals worshipped the emperor as a god without hesitation, and even in the West vows were made and sacrifices were offered in his name. Christian though he might profess to be, the emperor did not disclaim these honours nor refuse to accept such worship. Surrounded by this halo of superhuman power and dignity, Constantius made his public entry into the imperial city, which he now saw for the first time. He was filled with admiration for the splendid buildings and monuments which met his eye in all directions: the temples, the palaces, the theatres, the aqueducts, the memorial columns, and the triumphal arches: but he was trained to self-control; and, as he moved along slowly in his chariot, he never

suffered his eye to glance to the right or left, he moved no feature nor finger, except when in passing under some lofty archway he was observed to bow his small figure slightly, as though he were wont to esteem himself something more elevated than human. So unapproachable a superiority did he affect that he never suffered anyone to sit beside him in his chariot, nor associated with himself in the consulship one who was not of the imperial family.

Constantius had now to learn with surprise how great was the position and power of the bishop of Rome; and how that the faith of the Christians was a force capable of resisting even his imperious will. Already during his father's lifetime the doctrines of the presbyter Arius had been widely accepted in the East. His heresy, which placed the second person of the Trinity in a lower scale of divinity than the first, was embraced by many as a compromise with Polytheism. The Council of Nicæa condemned the heresy, and the heretic was banished; but before his death Constantine restored Arius to favour, and Constantius accepted his teaching and proscribed the orthodox believers. He went so far even as to depose Athanasius from his see, and when the latter took refuge at Rome, and was welcomed by Pope Liberius, Constantius had called upon the Pope to condemn and excommunicate him. Liberius had manfully resisted the emperor's dictation: he had been exiled to Thrace, and during his absence an Arian bishop, Felix, had been thrust into the see. The Christians then absented themselves from the churches; and now that the heretical tyrant appeared among them, the women came in long procession, like the Roman matrons of old, to remonstrate with him for his sacrilege. Constantius tried to compromise by declaring that Liberius and Felix should both be bishops of Rome conjointly. He delivered his decree in the Circus. 'Shall we have factions in the Church as in the Circus?' exclaimed the indignant multitude. 'One God, one Christ, one Bishop!' was the universal cry.

Liberius, broken in spirit by his distant banishment, submitted to the imperial will, and was allowed to return to Rome; but the Christians were not to be so easily subdued. When Felix attempted to perform episcopal functions in public, they broke into open riot. The streets and the baths were deluged with blood. The factions of Marius and Sulla were

renewed, not for men but for principles. Eventually Felix fled. Liberius resumed his throne, and was not again disturbed. He prudently stayed away from the council held by Constantius at Ariminum, at which the Arian heresy was formally proclaimed and made the predominant faith. The Council of Ariminum sate in the year 359. Constantius himself died in 361.

CHAPTER LXVII.

JULIAN THE APOSTATE. PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY IN SPITE OF OPPOSITION. JOVIAN. VALENTINIAN.

AFTER the slaughter of Gallus, already mentioned, the only scion of the house of Constantine who survived was Julianus. He had been educated in the Christian religion, and had studied first at Milan and afterwards at Athens, where he devoted himself eagerly to the philosophy and the creeds of Pagan antiquity. Through the favour of the empress Eusebia he was advanced to the rank of Cæsar, and invested in 355 with the government of Gaul, which was suffering from the incursions of the Allemanni. His administration of the province was eminently successful; the invaders were driven out; the Rhenish frontier was strengthened. Fixing his capital at Lutetia, the modern Paris, he enlarged and beautified that city, and laid the foundations of its future eminence. Constantius became jealous of his reputation, and required him to despatch four of his legions to the Persian frontier. The soldiers refused to be detached from the command of their favourite captain, and compelled him to assume the purple and raise his standard against the legitimate emperor. Julian led his troops through South Germany towards the Danube and Constantinople. He was already received with acclamations in the Eastern capital before Constantius was aware of his approach. The emperor started at once from Antioch to confront his younger rival, but, worn out with fatigue and anxiety, he died in Cilicia, and Julian was received in every quarter as his successor.

A.D. 361.

Julian, who had never been in Rome, at once crossed the Bosphorus, and proceeded to Antioch to prepare for an invasion

of Persia. His short reign was spent entirely in Asia. At Antioch he cultivated the intimacy of the pagan men of letters and especially of the sophist Libanius. He quickly threw off the profession of Christianity, and restored with much ceremony the ritual and the sacrifices of the pagan deities. Julian pretended to discover the most refined philosophy hidden under the forms of a vulgar idolatry; he also affected an austere life of self-denial, and aimed at proving by his practice that the morality of Paganism was superior to that of Christianity. The people of Antioch, who, though nominally Christian, were a loose and frivolous race, resented his apostasy and chafed at the severity of this pagan puritan.

Julian's expedition against Persia was a brilliant advance. He floated down the Euphrates with a powerful army, and then waited for reinforcements from Armenia before undertaking the siege of Ctesiphon. Disappointed of these succours, he nevertheless penetrated into the interior of Persia. Sapor retreated before him, allowed him to pass by his forces, and then attacked the exhausted Romans in the rear. Julian repulsed the enemy with great spirit, but was slain in the pursuit. The Christian Jovian was acclaimed emperor on the field of battle, and he succeeded in extricating his legions from their perilous position. The imperial apostasy had triumphed for two years only, and, as every Christian held, had been signally punished.

The history of Rome has now become little else than the history of the progress of Christianity. To this progress the apostasy of Julian gave indeed a transient check, but it was succeeded by an era of more vigorous advance. The religious policy of Constantine had been conspicuous for its moderation. He tolerated and even favoured Christianity, but he took no hostile action against the ancient religion. He retained the title of Chief Pontiff to the end of his life, and the Roman senate, the stronghold of Paganism, refused to regard him as an apostate, and enrolled him at last among the gods. Doubtless Constantine was politic as well as zealous. He would not forfeit the support of the pagans by overt hostility, yet some of his measures were calculated to advance the interests of the new creed and to depress the position of the old. When the Christian ministers were allowed to share with the pagan priesthood their immunity from the burdens of municipal office, it was a clear gain to them, for they were not weighted, like their rivals, with the cost of

public shows. The laws enacted by Constantine against divination and magic were a great discouragement to the aruspices and to the pagan priests in general, whose services were closely connected with magical arts and incantations. The closing on moral grounds of the temples of Venus, which had become mere resorts of public licentiousness, was another blow to the old system, and foreshadowed its approaching dissolution.

The Christians might well be hopeful of the triumph of their cause; yet they were still in a minority, and their progress was delayed by two important circumstances. The withdrawal of the emperors from Rome threw the prestige of authority into the hands of the senate and the nobles, who, as the representatives of the oldest traditions of the city, adhered almost universally to Paganism. The intellectual classes, the sophists and the orators, supported the nobles in their resistance to the new faith. Altogether Paganism was the fashion at Rome. It was rarely that the Christians could boast of a convert among the leaders of society; and when such an event occurred they chanted their victory in no measured tones. The conversion of Victorinus, the most popular champion of the worship of the pagan deities, and especially those of Egypt, made a great stir. When it was announced that he was about to recant in public his old opinions, and make a solemn profession of his Christian faith, crowds flocked to hear him, and the impression produced by this and similar incidents upon the popular mind was very strong.

The progress of Christianity was further impeded by the dissensions of Christians among themselves. It is not surprising that in a society collected from every clime and nation divers interpretations of its fundamental teaching should spring up; and when persecution ceased and a sense of security succeeded, these divisions became embittered. There arose a puritan party under the name of Donatists, who insisted upon tightening the bonds of discipline, and tore the Church asunder under the pretence of binding it more closely together. The heresy of the Arians touched the most essential doctrine of the Church, and there could be no peace between them and the orthodox. The favour shown to this heresy by successive emperors, and the more facile acceptance it met with among all classes, including even the barbarian tribes, embittered the feelings of its faithful opponents. Council after council was

held to endeavour to reconcile these irreconcilable differences; and at length the quarrel between the rival Churches became a scandal in the eyes of their adversaries. 'No beasts of the field,' it was remarked by them, 'are so fierce against one another as the Christians against the Christians.'

Meanwhile Paganism, with little abatement of external splendour, was slowly crumbling to decay. The temples were still open; the sacrifices were not disused; the priests enjoyed their endowments. But all enthusiasm for the system was dead; the prodigality of offerings and ceremonies was curtailed; the temples fell into disrepair; the priesthood, with its attendant expenses, was regarded as a burden rather than an honour. Had the Church been more united, she might perhaps even now have entered upon the inheritance of her predecessors.

Such were the circumstances under which Julian the Apostate determined to strike a blow for the ancient faith. His cultivated mind combined the graceful legends of Homeric mythology with the moral and spiritual theories of the philosophic schools. Christianity presented itself to him as the religion of the court, deformed by many corruptions, as the religion of a depraved tyrant, who had been the persecutor of his family and the murderer of his only brother. He recoiled from a faith which was disfigured by such gross moral inconsistencies in the highest places both of the Church and of the state.

Julian did not venture to adopt the barbarous practices of the persecutors of old in devoting the believers to the sword, the fire, and the lions. His own nature was averse to cruelty, and the temper of the times was more humane than it had been. At first he contented himself with writing down the religion of the Galileans, as he contemptuously called them, thinking to brand them with ignominy in the eyes of the Greeks and Romans by noting their obscure provincial origin. He next took the harsher step of shutting the schools and colleges against them, and forbidding them to exercise the function of sophists or teachers, thinking so to degrade them in the eyes of the learned and literary among his subjects.

Julian also made an effort to refute, by a material proof, the pretensions of his adversaries. The Christians pointed to the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem as a fulfilment of their Master's prophecy. They maintained that it could never be

rebuilt. Julian sent workmen to the spot, with orders to clear away the ruins, and prepare the foundations on which to reconstruct the temple. According to the account we have received from a pagan historian, their operations were interrupted by a violent convulsion of the earth, with fire and smoke and sulphureous exhalations. The Christians exultingly claimed it for a miracle. The pagans were dismayed by the occurrence, and Julian desisted from the attempt.

It is interesting to observe that Julian was so far influenced by the religion which he was combating, that he endeavoured to engraft some of its living principles upon the dead stock of the old system, and to bring about not only a ceremonial but a moral revival of Paganism. He felt the force of the argument that a true faith must be shown by good deeds, and he urged his co-religionists to take the Christians as an example in moral conduct, and to emulate them in works of charity while they excelled them, as he proclaimed, in real piety. He put his teaching in practice by commanding the foundation of hospitals for the sick, a good deed hitherto without precedent on the part of a pagan. But all Julian's efforts to galvanise into life the dead corpse of Paganism were in vain. Neither the educated teachers nor the ignorant multitude showed any sympathy for his enthusiasm. They cared not for its ritual nor for its doctrines, and its costly sacrifices were regarded as a burden, and suffered to fall into disuse. Against an institution so thoroughly effete, Christianity could not fail to advance with steady progress.

The prevailing attitude of the public mind towards the rival religions which were striving for the mastery was undoubtedly one of indifference, and in nothing was this more plainly shown than in the facility with which the soldiers of Julian, who had daily attended his pagan sacrifices, transferred their allegiance to the Christian standard of the Labarum, under which Jovian conducted his retreat. The position of the army was critical, and in providing for its safety it was judged best to surrender the strong fortress of Nisibis, and withdraw the empire once more within the frontier line of the Euphrates. Jovian seems to have been a man of ability. In religious matters he showed impartial tolerance towards the orthodox, the heretics, and the pagans; but he did

A.D. 364.

ice to the claims of Athanasius, and reinstated him in his

bishopric. After a short reign of seven months he fell sick and died before reaching Constantinople.

The ministers or officers of the late emperor's court chose for his successor Valentinian, a Pannonian soldier of low origin but distinguished prowess. Though devoid of literary culture he was a thorough disciplinarian, and soon proved his capacity for government. His first act on reaching Constantinople was to divide the empire with his brother Valens, taking the Western provinces for his own share. The arrangement thus effected for the third time was final. The empires of the East and of the West were never again united. Valentinian set up his court at Milan, but soon repaired to Trèves in order to personally conduct the war against the Allemanni. His courage and activity were in full request; and he engaged in person in many battles, often coming off victorious, but never able to inflict a decisive blow. He was remarkable for the justice and vigour of his civil government, and he was unfairly charged with cruelty on account of the severity with which he chastised the corruption of his officers. He associated with himself his son Gratian, and educated him wisely for his future position of power. After reigning for twelve years, he died from the effects of a violent fit of passion. A.D. 375.

Valentinian pursued the same tolerant and impartial policy in matters of religion as his predecessors. Invested like them with the office of Supreme Pontiff, he could not persecute the pagans, but he took no active part in pagan ceremonies. On the other hand, he attacked unsparingly the professors of magical arts, which were at that time a highly popular form of superstition, and which were so intertwined with the pagan ceremonial that his prosecution of the one might seem to detract from his impartiality towards the other. Meanwhile the Christians continued to advance their cause with vigour, but we can hardly venture to trace their success to the genuine spirit of their religion. They won their way no longer by the graces of lowliness and meekness, which had signalised the professors of the faith in purer times.

In the absence of the emperors from Rome, the position of the bishop of that city had become one of no mean secular importance. It conferred wealth and splendour, attracted the devotion of women of the highest rank, and raised its fortunate holder to the pinnacle of fashion as well as of luxury. Accordingly

it became the object of contentious rivalry, and was sought for with all the artifice and violence which had formerly disgraced the competition for the consulship. On the death of Pope Liberius in 366, two candidates, Damasus and Ursicinus, competed for the succession. Both of them claimed to have been lawfully elected by the congregation of believers. The struggle was decided by an appeal to arms, which raged hotly throughout the city for several days. In one Christian church, and on a single day, as many as 160 persons were reported to have been killed. The prefect of the city, unable to preserve peace, retired in confusion without the walls. At length Damasus gained the upper hand, and he has been recognised as legitimate Pope by ecclesiastical tradition.

The episcopal chair of Rome was now indeed a prize worth contending for by an ambitious man. By the West of Europe Rome had ever been regarded as the very centre of the universe in things military and secular. The Church was still a militant body, fighting indeed with spiritual weapons, but feeling the need of discipline, control, and guidance. The bishop of Rome came by degrees to be regarded as the imperator of this spiritual host. To him priests, and monks, and learned doctors, and simple congregations rendered implicit obedience. The separation of the Eastern empire, and its constitution as a distinct government, made the pre-eminence of Rome more marked and unquestioned throughout the West. The term Papa or Pope, derived from the East, was attached to the bishop of Rome as a title of superior honour and authority. By insensible degrees he assumed and enforced his jurisdiction over the other bishops of Italy, though the claim to universal dominion was still far from being asserted. The civil eminence of the Popes of Rome may be dated from the notable election of the ambitious Damasus.

The pagan nobility of Rome, unable as of old to repress the Church by force, affected to regard the Christians with lofty disdain. Rome had fallen out of the great current of political life, and rested in a quiet backwater, but she was still as magnificent as ever; she still gave her name to the empire; and her sons still proudly boasted that her greatness was due to the favour of the gods of Rome. The most conspicuous leaders of the old Roman sentiment at this period were two senators of learning and refinement—Vettius Pretextatus, a philosopher

and a priest, who had been initiated into the mysteries of Ceres, Cybele, Astarte, and Mithras; and Symmachus, a celebrated orator. These two eminent men were destined to play a prominent part in opposing the advance of Christianity.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

GRATIAN AND THEODOSIUS. THE GOTHS UNDER ALARIC RAVAGE GREECE AND ITALY.

VALENTINIAN at his death left two sons. The elder, Gratian, was in his seventeenth year; the younger, who bore his father's name, and was the child of a second and favourite wife, was a mere infant. A contest for the succession seemed not unlikely, but Gratian, who was of a kindly disposition, obtained the support of the legions on the Rhine and the Danube, and further secured his authority by marrying a grand-daughter of the great Constantine. He not only declared himself the protector of his infant brother, but associated him with himself in the empire. Hitherto the emperors, on assuming the office of Chief Pontiff, had allowed themselves to be invested with the consecrated robe of honour which pertained to it. But the Christian sentiment was too strong in Gratian to permit him to conform to this custom. The early teaching of the great Ambrose, bishop of Milan, had impressed upon his mind the sacredness of his Christian profession. When the pontifical robes were offered to him by a deputation of the senate, he positively refused to wear them, though he would seem to have acquiesced in the assumption of the title. The distinction he made may have been a subtle one, but it indicated a more pronounced adherence on the part of the emperor to the Christian religion, and as such must have given rise to alarm among the pagans at Rome. A.D. 376.

This feeling of insecurity was doubtless increased when the imperial commands arrived at Rome to remove the statue and altar of Victory which adorned the senate house, and before which it was customary for the senators to burn a few grains of incense at the commencement of each sitting. The Christian minority naturally objected to be partakers or even witnesses

of this idolatrous practice, and, trusting to the favour of Gratian and the support of Ambrose, they had urged the removal of the idol. The pagan senators, thoroughly alarmed, sent a deputation to the emperor at Milan to plead against the enforcement of the order. Gratian refused to receive them, on the ground that they did not represent the whole body of senators.

A.D. 382. When the young Valentinian was associated in the empire, the opportunity was seized by the malcontents to address a second memorial on the subject to the two rulers. Leave was given to Symmachus to transmit his plea in writing, and to Ambrose was entrusted the duty of preparing a reply. The imperial decision, as might be expected, was in favour of Ambrose. The statue, which had been removed, was ordered not to be replaced; and this decision was supported by the chief magistrates of the empire, some of whom took the opportunity of declaring themselves Christians.

Had the fortune of war been adverse, it would greatly have strengthened the case of the pagans, who would have argued, with some show of reason, that such reverses were the just punishment for the slights offered to the gods of Rome. Happily no such handle was given to the enemies of the Christian religion. The government of Gratian was marked throughout by successful warfare on the frontiers and by peace and prosperity within them. He himself won a great victory over the Germans across the Rhine. For a moment indeed Gratian might claim the united empire for his own. Valens, the emperor of the East, had been defeated and slain by the

A.D. 378. Goths at Adrianople, and his authority lapsed to Gratian, who had collected large forces in that quarter to oppose the barbarians. Gratian, however, hastened to relieve himself of the increased burden of empire, and after a short interval placed his ablest general, Theodosius, on the throne of Constantinople. With the help of the new emperor, and of his Frankish allies, he effected a settlement of affairs on the Danube, and ceded large tracts in Mæsia and Pannonia to the Goths, where it was hoped they would settle quietly and cease to be a standing menace to the civilisation of the South. Nevertheless the pagan party continued to appeal both to Gratian and to Theodosius for the restoration of their favourite image; and their anxiety was in some measure due to the fact that the Christian emperor was gradually appropriating the

endowments of temples and priestly offices which were falling into disuse or abeyance. Another measure directed against the old religion was the prohibition of legacies to the vestal virgins, whose assumption of the virtue of chastity seems to have been specially obnoxious to the Christians.

During these latter years Gratian had been gradually losing the esteem of his subjects, devoting himself too exclusively to the idle pleasures of the chase, and associating on terms of intimacy with the barbarian Alaric, to whom he entrusted the protection of his person. He had thus laid himself bare to the attack of the first adventurous rebel. The army of Britain had long been quartered there, and regarded itself as distinct from the main body of the army. Taking advantage of the weakness of the reigning prince, it revolted, and forced an officer named Maximus to assume the purple. Gratian was at the time residing at Paris, and when the usurper crossed the Channel his troops refused to arm in his defence. The luckless emperor fled southwards, hoping perhaps for aid from the forces of Valentinian and Theodosius. But he lingered too long at Lyons, where he was captured and slain by his enemy. Theodosius took no steps to avenge his benefactor, but recognised the usurper Maximus as the ruler of the West, stipulating only that Valentinian should retain his sovereignty over Italy, Illyricum, and Africa. The Roman world was thus once more divided between a triumvirate of rulers. A.D. 383.

Meanwhile the young Valentinian was being brought up at Milan by his mother, Justina, in the Arian heresy; and this heterodoxy led to frequent and scandalous contests between the court and the powerful bishop Ambrose, the very champion of orthodoxy. Ambrose, indeed, had rendered good service to his young sovereign by so conducting the negotiations with Maximus as to deter the usurper from advancing into Italy. But his own conduct towards the emperor was scarcely less aggressive, and when at length Valentinian was induced to require his departure from Milan, he arrogantly refused obedience, trusting to the support of the popular sentiment and an array of pretended miracles.

Four years after the death of Gratian, Maximus suddenly crossed the Alps at the head of an army, and appeared at the gates of Milan. Valentinian and his mother could barely escape

to Aquileia, whence they set sail to the East, and threw themselves upon the protection of Theodosius. Italy surrendered without a blow to Maximus, who paid a visit to Rome, and was there called upon to settle the controversy between the Christians and the pagans. He gained little credit and no assistance from either party, and was obliged to rely solely upon his own armed followers. Theodosius, who had married Galla, the sister of Valentinian, took up the exile's cause in earnest. With him were allied the Huns, the Goths, and the Alani, while the Gauls and the Germans sustained the ruler of the West. The contest was decided at Siscia, on the Save; Theodosius triumphed, and Maximus, hotly pursued, was taken and killed at Aquileia.

A.D. 387.

A.D. 389.

The victor remained three years in Italy, and was for that time at least the actual ruler of the West as well as of the East; but he intended no disloyalty to the young Valentinian, whom he reinstated as emperor over all the provinces which obeyed his father and his brother. Unfortunately Valentinian was too feeble to obtain that mastery over his soldiers and his officers, without which no man could hope to retain imperial power at that critical time. He was publicly set at nought by the Frankish general Arbogastes, whom he had reprimanded before his courtiers, and was soon after assassinated by the agents of the offended barbarian. Arbogastes might easily have seized the prize of empire which lay ready to his hand, but he preferred to confer the sovereignty rather than to keep it. He chose for the high but empty dignity Eugenius, the grammarian, who had been chief secretary of the imperial household. This man was the last imperial ruler, either in the West or in the East, who professed himself a pagan. His accession was the signal for an outburst of triumph and of fanaticism on the part of the old pagan party throughout Italy. The statue of Victory was at last reinstated in the senate house. The confiscated endowments of the priesthood were given back. The bishop of Milan was horrified by the threat that his cathedral church should be turned into a stable.

A.D. 392.

Theodosius, indignant at the murder of his *protégé* and the revival of Paganism, made preparations for punishing the authors of these crimes. By the time that he was ready to take the field Eugenius and Arbogastes had fortified the

passes of the Julian Alps, and stood ready to defend them, invoking the protection of Hercules and Jupiter Tonans. Theodosius trusted with better confidence in the standard of the Labarum, and, in spite of some reverses at the first encounter, inspired his troops with his own enthusiasm, and led them to a decisive victory. Eugenius was A.D. 394. taken and put to death. Arbogastes fell upon his own sword. At the instance of Ambrose the pagans were spared the horrors of a persecution, but their religion was once more abased, and this time temples, sacrifices, endowments and idols were swept away. Six months A.D. 395. after his victory over Eugenius Theodosius died. By the pagans he was deified. From the Christians he received the posthumous title of 'The Great,' which he had well deserved by the services he had rendered to their religion. Theodosius was a brave and able general, and a generous and high-minded man. He was noted for his clemency, and if on one occasion he punished the rebels of Thessalonica with barbarity, he atoned for his crime, in the eyes at least of his Christian admirers, by the submission he made to Ambrose, when the bishop forbade him admission to the Christian Church on account of his blood-guiltiness. The penitence of Theodosius is celebrated, and has borne fruit for centuries in the Church, which it first encouraged to dictate its laws to princes. This act may well serve to mark the turning-point at which the old world comes to an end, and the new world commences.

Mention has already been made of the defeat of Valens by the Goths, and it is necessary now to recur briefly to the events which led to it. The Gothic hordes had entered Europe two centuries before in two divisions: the Visigoths had settled themselves in the regions bordering on the Danube and the Alps, while the Ostrogoths occupied the Russian steppes from the Black Sea to the Baltic. After many conflicts the two hordes were compacted into one great nation under the great king Hermanaric, whose empire extended over the regions of Hungary, Poland, and Courland. Here the Goths changed from a nomadic to a settled and semi-civilised race, and here they received their first instruction in Christianity from their apostle Ulphilas, who translated the Scriptures into their tongue. In the year 374 a new Mongolian horde, of hideous aspect and warlike nature, known in history as the Huns,

crossed the Volga and the Don, and began to press the Goths westward and southward. The latter yielded before their fierce assailants, and those of them who were pagans retreated to the wilds of the Carpathian mountains, while the Christian people among them, to the number of 200,000 warriors, besides women and children, came down to the north bank of the Danube and begged a refuge in the plains of Mæsia of the Christians of the Roman empire.

Valens was far away at Antioch, busy with theological controversies, and ill able to detach legions enough to restrain this armed multitude from forcing the passage of the Danube. The Roman government cajoled the Goths with promises, and after long delays transported the women and children across the river, proposing to hold them as hostages for the peaceable behaviour of the men. At length the Goths, weary with long delay and short of provisions, made their own way as best they could across the stream, and found that the Roman soldiers had made free with their women and sold many of their children into slavery. Burning with rage, yet starving with famine, they bore their wrongs in silence, and even fulfilled their promise to be baptized into the Arian form of Christianity, which they long retained; but no sooner were they securely settled in Mæsia, than they determined to avenge the injuries they had suffered. Valens heard with alarm that his lieutenant Lupicinus had been defeated by the barbarians, and hastened from the East to stop their onward course. He found them already advanced as far as Adrianople, within a hundred miles of his capital. Without waiting for Gratian he gave battle, but suffered a complete defeat, and was himself captured and burnt to death. The Goths had no means of attacking a fortified place like Constantinople, but they extended their devastations all over Thrace and Macedonia, till their career was arrested by the vigour and genius of Theodosius.

A.D. 378.

The barbarians were never able to prevail against able captains backed by disciplined troops, but when supplied with Roman arms and training they made admirable auxiliaries. Theodosius subdued the Goths, and entrusted them with the defence of the Danubian frontier; they might have continued to be useful dependents of the empire, had his successors been as energetic as he was. Before his death Theodosius associated

his eldest son, Arcadius, with himself in the empire of the East, and confided the West to his younger son, Honorius. Arcadius, who was eighteen years old, was placed under the tutelage of Rufinus, who proved a traitor to his interests. Honorius, who was but eleven, had for his minister the brave and faithful Stilicho, a chief of the Vandals. This man was himself married to Serena, a niece of his imperial patron, and his daughter Maria was betrothed to Honorius. After securing the loyalty and strengthening the frontiers of Gaul and Britain, and putting down the revolt of Gildo, the faithless governor of Carthage, Stilicho led the legions of Theodosius back to Constantinople, and delivered Arcadius from the intrigues of Rufinus, whose assassination was generally considered a just punishment of his treachery. But he was not in time to save Greece from being ravaged by the Goths. These barbarians had quitted their settlements on the Danube, and, headed by Alaric, had already penetrated into the Peloponnesus, destroying in their savage zeal for Christianity all the monuments of Paganism. Stilicho inflicted a defeat upon them. But the jealousy of Arcadius was now aroused, and he sent Stilicho back to Italy with gifts and compliments, and engaged Alaric to defend him against his brother and his brother's minister.

A.D. 395.

A.D. 396.

A.D. 398.

Alaric and his Visigoths soon wearied of a defensive attitude, and determined to invade Italy on their own account. They burst into Lombardy and appeared before the gates of Milan. At the first news of danger Honorius had been sent for safety to Ravenna, and Stilicho had rushed into Gaul to collect all the troops he could muster. Returning promptly, he threw himself into Milan, soon in his turn assumed the offensive, and, after defeating Alaric in two great battles at Pollentia and Verona, drove the barbarians for the present fairly out of Italy. Honorius, who had been cowering behind the walls of Ravenna, announced that he would celebrate this victory of the Roman arms by a Roman triumph. This was the last of the long series, not less, it is said, than three hundred in number; and it has been grandly described by the pagan poet Claudian.

A.D. 402.

A.D. 403.

Rome put forth all the magnificence that remained to her. The palace of the Cæsars was furbished up for the emperor's reception. If the poet may be believed, columns, statues,

domes, and pinnacles glittered with gold. He goes so far as to represent the temples and images of the gods as radiant with splendour, but does not venture to assert that any victim was offered in sacrifice by the Christian emperor. We cannot doubt that for a long time previous Paganism had been steadily declining before the advancing power of Christianity. If any proof were needed, it may be found in the fact that in the very next year the gladiatorial shows were finally abolished, in consideration of the offence they gave to the Christian sentiment of the people.

A.D. 404.

The defeat of Alaric was not the last great service which Stilicho rendered to Rome and Italy. The withdrawal of so many legions to oppose the Goths had left the frontier of the Rhine without defenders. Germany was teeming with a host of mingled tribes—Suevi, Allemanni, Vandals, Alans—all forced into movement by the pressure of the Goths and Huns. A vast multitude of these barbarians, reckoned at 200,000, or by some at 400,000, headed by a pagan chief named Radagæsus, burst into Italy, and, ravaging all before them, arrived at Fæsulæ on the hill above Florence. Stilicho had spared no effort to raise forces which might cope with this host of invaders. He succeeded in surrounding the horde with his troops, and defeated them in a decisive battle. Radagæsus made terms of surrender, which were agreed to but not observed. The chief was put to death and his followers sold into slavery.

A.D. 406.

The gates of the Rhine having been once thrown open, this first invasion was quickly followed by others. Gaul and Spain were overrun by the barbarians, and practically lost to the empire. In this crisis the evidence both of Christian and pagan writers points to the fact that Stilicho betrayed his feeble master, and concerted measures with Alaric to seize upon the empire both of the East and of the West. Honorius, apprised of his designs, succeeded in arresting his valiant protector. Stilicho and his son were put to death; his estates were confiscated, and his friends and followers proscribed.

A.D. 408.

CHAPTER LXIX.

THE SACK OF ROME BY THE GOTHS. FINAL TRIUMPH OF CHRISTIANITY OVER PAGANISM.

STILICHO had perished in the spring of the year 408. Alaric had already descended from the Alps and, passing by Honorius and Ravenna, was marching direct for Rome. At such a moment as this Honorius issued a decree that every officer who would not make a public profession of Christianity should be dismissed from the army. Generides, the best remaining general, retired from the service. His assistance could not be dispensed with; the decree was withdrawn, and he resumed his command. But it was too late to interpose between Alaric and Rome. The ramparts of Aurelian had been repaired, but there were no soldiers to man them, and the citizens were incapable of making any defence. In their terror, the magistrates listened to a proposal to have recourse to the ancient rites, and to propitiate the aid of the pagan gods by a solemn sacrifice on the Capitol. Pope Innocent was sounded on the subject, but refused his consent to any public demonstration of the kind. Meanwhile Alaric, at the head of his nation of warriors, besieged the city. He was no violent or bloodthirsty barbarian, but politic and greedy of money, greedy too of supplies with which to feed his armed hosts. He made no attack, but waited patiently till the city should fall by famine. The resources of the city were soon exhausted. It became necessary to treat; but Alaric's demands were so exorbitant that the Romans threatened him with the despair of their immense multitude. 'The thicker the hay,' he exclaimed derisively, 'the easier to mow it!' When at last he named his lowest terms, they asked in dismay, 'What then would you leave us?' 'Your lives!' was the only reply he vouchsafed them.

The ransom paid for Rome is stated in detail as 5,000 pounds of gold, 30,000 of silver, 4,000 silken robes, 3,000 pieces of scarlet cloth, 3,000 pounds of pepper. The payment seems to have taxed the resources of Rome to the utmost, and in order to meet it, not only were the images of the gods stripped of their ornaments of gold and precious stones, but those of them

whose material was gold or silver were cast bodily into the melting pot. Among them was one of Courage, or Virtue as the Romans call her. Those who professed to fore-
A.D. 408. cast the future might well predict that ruin would soon follow such a sacrifice. There is good reason to think that the Roman people, at this terrible crisis, were haunted by misgivings that their humiliation might be due to their abandonment of their ancient faith. Olympius, the minister, who had favoured the Christians and robbed the heathen temples without mercy, fell by a court intrigue. Honorius diverted his persecuting zeal from the pagans, and attacked the Jews and heretics instead.

In the following year, 409, Alaric advanced again upon Rome, and, passing round the walls, seized Ostia. The imperial city, deprived of all her supplies, opened her gates and awaited her conqueror's commands. This time the Goth thought fit to erect a rival emperor at Rome in the person of his minion Attalus, who, though he submitted to Arian baptism, openly favoured the pagan party in the city. Three leaders of that party, Lampadius, Marcianus, and Tertullus, were appointed to the offices of captain of the prætorians, prefect of the city, and consul. Tertullus assumed the office of Chief Pontiff in addition to the consulship amid the general enthusiasm of the old Roman faction. It was not long, however, before a reaction set in against this new government. Heraclian, prefect of Africa, stopped the export of corn to the city, and the populace rose in its alarm, and drove away its feeble ruler with execrations and insults. Alaric required Attalus to renounce his throne, but himself advanced a third time against the devoted city.

The Romans had extorted from Honorius the futile succour of six cohorts, which could hardly have amounted to more than 1,000 men. They closed their barriers and pretended to defend them, but the Salarian gate was opened at night by treachery, and the barbarians entered the city on August 24, A.D. 410, exactly 800 years from its conquest by the Gauls. Alaric, fierce as he was, was no heathen barbarian bent on slaughter and destruction, but his warriors demanded pillage, and for six days Rome was given up to be sacked by them. Doubtless many deeds of cruelty were done during that period of violence. Houses and temples were burnt. Women were dishonoured.

Concealed treasures were drawn to light by threats and tortures. The Christian churches, however, seem to have been respected; the believers and even the pagans who took sanctuary in them were unharmed; and many stories are told of how the ferocious Goths were softened to respectful kindness by the conduct of the holy Christian women. It was well perhaps that Pope Innocent was away at Ravenna at the time, and so the strife was not embittered by the denunciation of the heretic Goths by the chief of the orthodox believers. Alaric quitted Rome at the end of twelve days, and led his plundering horde through the centre and south of Italy, ravaging towns and villas, devastating estates, and setting free the slaves. Many Roman nobles and senators were reduced to utter destitution; many of them fled beyond sea. Numbers of Christians escaped to Africa, and found hospitable entertainment in that flourishing province, but their spirit of levity and worldliness is said to have caused grave scandal in the bosom of a purer and simpler society. Alaric continued his career of destruction to the extremity of Italy, where it was cut short by death. With his last breath he commanded his body to be buried beneath the channel of the river Busentinus, so as to secure his remains from insult.

The sack of Rome by the Goths was accepted by the Roman world as the judgment of God upon Paganism, and the old religion never again reared its head. The laws against its ceremonial, long held in abeyance, were now enforced. The temples were converted into churches; and the Christian priesthood stepped into the deserted inheritance of their pagan predecessors. This entire discomfiture of the party which clung to the old Roman religion need not surprise us, when we consider how completely their faith centred in the invincible might, the inviolable sanctity, of the city of Rome herself. In their view the glorious career of the Roman commonwealth had been due to the protecting favour of the gods. All her defeats, all her disasters, had redounded ultimately to her triumph, and her triumph had been extended over three continents, and protracted through twelve centuries. It seemed to them that her dominion must be destined to be eternal. If Rome fell, the world would come to an end; and as their faith in the early mythologies waned, they made a god of their noble city and worshipped and trusted in the deified genius of Rome. But this faith required an outward and visible sign, and with the fall of Rome their

creed was hopelessly shattered, amid a wail of disappointment and dismay such as has never perhaps been heard in the world before or since.

The Christians of an earlier age had shared the pagan expectation of the permanence of Rome's dominion. In their eyes the idolatrous imperial government represented and embodied the spirit and the power of this world which must ever be opposed to the Church, which had the promise of the world to come. The only end of the Roman empire which they could conceive as possible was the destruction of the world by fire, which they had been expecting for so many generations. If such a consummation of all things should occur in his own time, the Christian could still look with hope beyond the fall of Rome, and find consolation in the prospect of the heavenly city, 'not made with hands, eternal in the heavens,' which he believed was prepared to receive the servants of God. Now, however, to the amazement of all men, Rome was sacked, ruined, and discrowned, yet the world did not perish. 'A great destiny had been accomplished, a great destiny was about to commence.' Augustine seized the opportunity, and issued his powerful treatise entitled the 'City of God.' In it he showed the vanity of that worship of the City of Man by which the pagan world had been beguiled. In place of imperial Rome, he pointed to the Church of Christ as the true city of refuge in which mankind might find salvation. The pagans had no reply to make. Their long dominant superstitions shrank henceforth from the light of day, and found an obscure refuge among the traditions of the ignorant peasantry.

The triumph, however, of Christianity was not unalloyed. The masses who were left without a creed had to be swept into the Gospel net, and the easiest way to do this was to make concessions to their superstitious ignorance which detracted from the purity of the Gospel. The doctrines of Christianity were too lofty and too severe to be readily accepted by the corrupt population of the Roman world. But when they saw the old pagan ceremonial rivalled, if not surpassed, by a parade of lights and incense, vestments, pictures, images, and votive offerings, it was not difficult to submit to so slight a change in the outer forms of devotion. The multitudinous gods were replaced by a host of saints to whom vows and prayers might be addressed. The statues of the ancient gods found their

counterpart in a variety of miracle-working images of the Virgin Mary. By such devices as these the multitude were induced to acquiesce in the transformation of the heathen temples into Christian churches. There were not wanting high-souled puritans in that day who protested against this dangerous trifling; but their voice was generally overruled. The patrons of a corrupt reaction were honoured and magnified. Vigilantius was denounced; Jerome was canonised. The Christian Church could not fail to suffer in strength and purity by the absorption within her body of such a degraded mass of humanity as the Greek and Roman races then presented. On the other hand, she has conquered for herself a people of stronger moral fibre in the barbarians from whom modern society has sprung, and has moulded them to a higher sense of morals and religion than any before them. Since the fall of Rome, and of Roman superstition, the world generally has recognised a higher standard of truth and justice, of purity and mercy: the fall of Rome is still the greatest event in all secular history.

CHAPTER LXX.

FURTHER ADVANCE OF THE BARBARIANS. THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

THE Goths had conquered Rome: the empire of the West lay at their feet: yet, strange to say, they had the modesty and the nobility of mind to decline an inheritance of which they felt themselves unworthy. Alaric was dead. His successor was Ataulphus (Adolf), who during the sack of Rome had got possession of Placidia, a daughter of Theodosius, and had married her. This man was no vulgar barbarian. So deeply was he impressed with the dignity of the Roman government, and the complexity of the institutions wherewith it maintained the civilisation of the age, that he determined not to destroy the empire but to protect it. He withdrew his host of Goths from Italy, and carved out for himself a kingdom of the Visigoths in Spain and the South of France. There he ruled as king; but he continued to acknowledge Honorius as emperor over both the Romans and himself. The kingdom of the Visigoths

foreshadowed the fiefs of the feudal vassals of a later age. It sprang from the same Teutonic soil, and was due perhaps to the same cast of political ideas which has so largely shaped the polity of modern Europe. Thus the empire, after its recent degradation, entered upon a short revival of dignity and prosperity. The influence of Rome over men's minds began also to recover itself through the growing authority of her bishops. While the Church throughout the West was suffering an eclipse from the inroads of successive hordes of barbarians, some heathen and others heretical, the Papacy was laying the foundations of its power, as the heir to the imperial government which had abdicated its responsibilities.

The Visigoths under Ataulphus were settled in the North of Spain and the South of Gaul; but ruder hordes of Sueves and Alans, Vandals and Burgundians overran the greater part of both countries, plundering the natives and fighting with one another. The provincials, who, having adopted the speech and manners of Rome, were now known as Romans, found themselves abandoned by the emperor, and submitted to the rule of their new masters, which was perhaps scarcely so heavy as the fiscal tyranny of the imperial administration. Literature flourished in Gaul and Spain. The barbarians were not insensible to the charms of poetry and eloquence; they were captivated by the luxuries of Roman society; they were awed by the strength and subtlety of Roman jurisprudence; they embraced with peculiar readiness the forms of municipal government established in the provinces. But they were not yet ready for the repose of a settled life, and by purchasing the services of one tribe, and employing them against another, their nominal sovereign at Ravenna was still able to prevent them from establishing permanent governments of their own.

During this period various usurpers among the provincials assumed the purple, and grasped at a little brief authority. Gratianus was proclaimed emperor in Britain, but was speedily supplanted by Constantinus, who crossed the Straits in A.D. 407, and after receiving some adhesions from the soldiery in Gaul, passed rapidly into Spain. Honorius, however, was able to send against him an officer named Constantius, who captured him at Arles, and sent him to his master, by whom he was put to death together with his son Julianus. In like manner

a pretender named Maximus maintained for some years a precarious position in Spain, but ultimately fell into the hands of Honorius, and the same fate befell Jovinus, who had assumed the diadem at Moguntiacum on the Rhine, A.D. 411. but was overthrown by Ataulphus, A.D. 415. Heraclianus, count of Africa, adds another name to the list of usurpers. He endeavoured to assert his independence, and even attempted a descent upon the coast of Italy with a vast armament. But he was overpowered and driven back by the Count Marinus, and perished by assassination soon after his return to Carthage.

The court of Ravenna had broken faith with Ataulphus in respect of the payment of a subsidy of corn or money. Thereupon the Visigoths began to ravage the Roman settlements in the South of Gaul. Constantius was unable to defend them, but he persuaded the barbarian to carry his arms into Spain, where he found the Sueves and Vandals opposed to him. The struggle which then began was continued for nearly 200 years, till at length the kingdom of the Visigoths was established throughout Gallicia, Asturia, and the other northern provinces of the peninsula. The Vandals had settled themselves in the south, where they attached their name to the modern Andalusia. From the middle of the fifth century the Roman empire was irrecoverably lost throughout the Iberian peninsula.

On the death of Ataulphus the Goths chose for their chief a warrior of the royal race named Wallia, who at once sent back Placidia to the court of Ravenna. The emperor gave her to his loyal general Constantius, and her son by this marriage succeeded to Honorius, when still a mere stripling, with the title of Valentinian III. The reign of Honorius had been the longest but one of the whole imperial series. A.D. 423. He came to the throne as a child, and though he never seemed to grow out of childhood, he counted thirty-seven years of empire. His character was utterly insignificant; he heard the news of the loss of one province after another with an inane jest; he had been found at one of the crises of his career amusing himself with his poultry. It was this insignificance which saved him. Honorius had adopted his sister's son, and when his death occurred soon after, Theodosius II., the emperor of the East, recognised the young Valentinian as heir to the throne of Ravenna. An attempt was made by Joannes, the late emperor's secretary, to seize upon the government; but

Placidia frustrated the adventurer's plans and secured her son's inheritance.

That inheritance had dwindled to a narrow span. Gaul and Spain had been lost. Britain, invaded by barbarians both by sea and land, was but nominally retained. Illyria and Pannonia were overrun by the Goths, Africa was about to be wrested from the empire by a barbarian conqueror. Placidia assumed the regency at Ravenna, supported by two illustrious senators, the patrician Aetius, and the consul Bonifacius. Aetius, though by birth a Scythian, has been called 'the last of the Romans.' He was the last leader of the Roman armies; he gained the last Roman victory. Bonifacius governed Africa loyally till he was traduced to Placidia and recalled. Fancying that his recall was but the prelude to his execution, he invited the Vandals to cross over from Spain to his assistance. Genseric, who was reigning in Bœtica, promptly obeyed the summons, and led his hosts across the Mediterranean in quest of the plunder which had tempted both Alaric and Wallia. Meanwhile Boniface, reassured as to the intentions of the Ravenna government, resolved to defend his province faithfully. He maintained the contest valiantly, but the barbarians overcame all resistance, and at the end of five years Valentinian formally ceded to them the entire province. Genseric, however, continued to sail the Mediterranean with his fleet, conquered the great islands of that sea, harassed the coasts of Greece and Italy, and raised the Ostrogoths against the Eastern empire and the Visigoths against the Western. Finally he allied himself to the yet more formidable power of the Huns.

A.D. 429.

A.D. 435.

This terrible people were for the time abiding in Hungary, and occupied the north bank of the Danube under their chiefs Attila and Bleda. Attila was held in horror not by the Greeks and Romans only, but by the Goths, and all the other northern tribes who had preceded him into the Roman territories. His mission seemed to be to slay, to plunder, to destroy. He constructed no house nor city. Blood and fire marked his track. He delighted to call himself the 'Scourge of God.' After vanquishing the troops of Theodosius and imposing a tribute on him, he turned northwards and attacked the tribes on the Elbe and the Baltic, and then crossed the Don and the Volga to attack the Tartars. Finding, however, that the Byzantine

court had failed to pay its tribute, he rushed back to the Danube and ravaged Thrace and Illyria. Theodosius in vain recalled the forces he had sent against Genseric: he lost Africa, but did not regain the right bank of his frontier river.

The emperors of the East and West now united in negotiating with Attila to deter him from attacking the empire. He consented, but threw himself instead upon the Visigoths in Gaul. When Aetius undertook to defend A.D. 450. them, Franks, Burgundians, and Romans flocked to his standard. The ravages of the Huns combined every nationality against them. Attila crossed the Rhine at Strasburg, and devastated the country as far as Orleans. That city closed its gates and determined to resist. Aetius arrived to its rescue, and the Huns, weary of the blockade, retreated. At Châlons, on the Marne, they were overtaken and defeated with heavy slaughter. Attila, however, made good his retreat with a large unbroken force, and carried off a multitude of captives. Many A.D. 451. of these were probably slaughtered, but the story of the massacre of the 11,000 virgins at Cologne is no doubt a figment or a blunder.

In the following year Attila invaded Italy by way of Illyria, and sacked Aquileia, Padua, and Verona. The fugitives from these cities took refuge in the islands of the Veneti, where they became the founders of Venice, the Queen of the Adriatic, the Carthage of the middle ages. The Huns lingered long in the Cisalpine, but terrified the Romans with threats of an early march to the southward. The court of Ravenna was paralysed with terror. Aetius was far away. The only man who showed courage was Leo the Great, Pope of Rome. Leo visited the camp of Attila in company with the imperial envoys, and threatened the barbarian with divine vengeance if he dared to attack the sacred city. He could point to the death of Alaric, which followed soon after his sack of Rome. Valentinian at the same time promised Attila a heavy bribe; and under this manifold pressure he consented to recross the Alps. Soon after his return to his stockade on the Danube he was found unaccountably dead in his bed.

Rome had had a narrow escape, but her reprieve was of short duration. The wretched Valentinian, more contemptible even than Honorius, conceived a jealousy of his only defender, Aetius, and poniarded him with his own hand. He was

himself assassinated a few months later by a senator named Maximus, who assumed the purple, and requested Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinian and daughter of the younger Theodosius, to accept his hand. She bowed to the odious necessity, but at the same time sent a message to Genseric to avenge the death of the sovereign emperor. The Vandal chief was not slow to seize such an opportunity for plunder: his fleet was in readiness, and the Vandals in overwhelming force sailed up the Tiber. In spite of all that Pope Leo could do to save the city, Rome was given up to pillage for fourteen days. The Vandals heaped their vessels with ornaments of gold and silver, with metal statues, with the precious trophies suspended in the Capitol and the temple of Peace. They carried off the golden candlestick and other treasures of the ancient temple of Jerusalem. They stripped the Capitol of half its gilded tiles. Many of these treasures were lost in a tempest, but the golden candlestick reached the African capital, was recovered a century later and lodged in Constantinople by Justinian, and by him replaced from superstitious motives in Jerusalem. From that time its history is lost. Among the many captives carried off to Carthage were the empress Eudoxia and the two daughters she had borne to Valentinian. Eudoxia was surrendered to Leo, the emperor of the East, but Genseric gave one of her children in marriage to his own son, and was proud, perhaps, thus to connect his dynasty with the imperial blood of an illustrious Roman.

A.D. 454.

Genseric and his horde, when they had stripped Rome of all her wealth, went on to pillage Nola, Capua, and other southern towns. Their sole object was booty, and they did not concern themselves to organise any imperial government. The race of Theodosius was extinct; Maximus had been stoned to death; and the Romans now invited one Avitus, a nobleman of Gaul, to assume the diadem. He was a man of peace, a cultivator of arts and eloquence, a fit shadow to place upon the shadow of a throne. The army and the officers stood aloof. None among them seemed to covet the empty honour. The senate, however, were soon weary of Avitus, and engaged Ricimer, a Sueve, to expel him from the city. Avitus returned quietly to his home and his garden in Auvergne. For ten months the throne of the West stood vacant, till, in the spring of 457, Ricimer condescended to bestow it upon another Sueve

named Majorianus. This nominee was no man of straw. He had served under Aetius, and at once set to work to organise the legions and appoint able captains to command them. He led his troops with success against the Vandals, who still troubled the coast of Italy; and even meditated an attack upon Genseric in his own country. At the head of a mingled host of Goths, Sueves, Huns, and Alans, which he had assembled in Gaul, he marched into Spain, expecting to find his fleet awaiting him at Carthagena. Genseric, however, had anticipated him, and by means of treachery had succeeded in destroying the armament. Majorian was baffled and forced to retire. Ricimer had now become jealous of his authority, and conspired against him. Majorian was compelled to abdicate, and died a few days after doing so, not without suspicion of poison. A.D. 461.

The style of emperor was now conferred upon an insignificant person named Severus, who dangled the reins of government for some years. During his reign a pretender named Marcellinus, who seems to have been the tool of the pagan party, wrested Dalmatia from the empire, and called himself emperor. On the death of Severus, Ricimer ruled Italy for two years with the title of patrician: he seems to have shrunk from climbing himself into the seat of the Cæsars. At the end of that time, however, he appointed one Anthemius to be emperor on the recommendation of Marcianus, the emperor of the East, to whose daughter he was married. Anthemius received the support of Marcellinus and the innovating party, and he has been regarded, on somewhat slight grounds, as the representative of Paganism in its last effort to recover its lost ground. He tried to strengthen his position by a second marriage with Ricimer's daughter, but to no purpose. The jealousy of the Sueve was again aroused: he invited a fresh horde of barbarians to cross the Alps, and in 472 Rome was for the third time taken and pillaged. Anthemius was put to death and replaced by Olybrius, the noble to whom Genseric had given Eudoxia's second daughter in marriage. Genseric died in the following month, and Olybrius followed him before the end of the year. Glycerius was next raised to the purple by Ricimer's soldiers, but within two years he was compelled to retire in favour of Julius Nepos, a man who at least bore a genuine Roman name. Glycerius was A.D. 474.

allowed to retire to Salona, of which place he became bishop. Nepos was constrained to abdicate in the following year, and found repose in the same quiet spot among the gardens of Diocletian.

This last revolution was effected like those which had preceded it. Orestes, a Pannonian of Roman origin, had won wealth and reputation at the court of Attila. On the death of Ricimer he obtained the title of patrician, which ranked next to the imperial dignity, and was equivalent to regent of the empire. Orestes compelled Nepos to abdicate, and conferred the empire upon his own son, a child of six years, who by a singular coincidence bore the names of Romulus Augustulus. The imperial throne depended at this time for support upon a barbarian chieftain, Odoacer, who stood at the head of a number of German tribes. This man allowed Orestes to dispose of the empire as he pleased, but demanded as the price of his consent that one-third of the lands of Italy should be given to his warriors. Orestes angrily refused: he made peace with the king of the Vandals, and applied for aid to the emperor of the East. Odoacer, however, marched into Italy with an irresistible force; captured Orestes and his brother Paulus at Patavium, and put them both to death, and extinguished the feeble rule of Augustulus, and with it the empire of the West. This occurred in August, 476. The young Augustulus was allowed to retire to the delicious villa of Lucullus at Surrentum.

Thus the empire of the West, which had long been in a state of helpless decrepitude, expired. The successors of the Cæsars who still ruled in Constantinople, and whose rule endured a thousand more years, affected to regard it as lapsed to their own crown; but they seldom attempted to secure it, and never but for a moment held it even by the skirt. Rome continued to be governed by her native bishops, or by a series of barbarian kings; and more than three centuries elapsed before her empire was nominally revived by the great German prince who reigned at Aachen.

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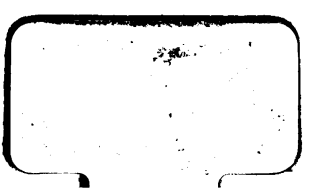
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